

# THE WORLD TOMORROW

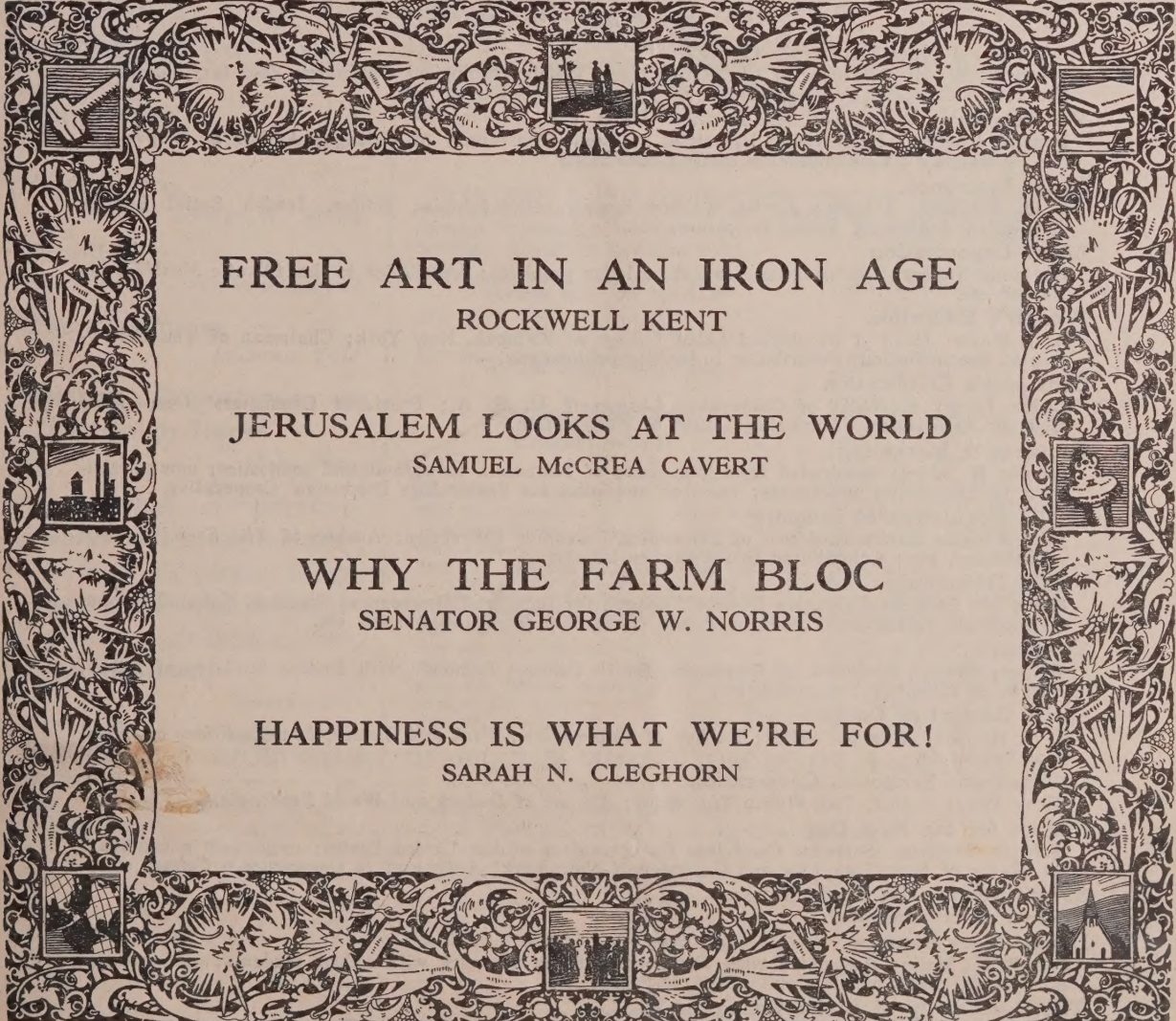
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VOL. XI

JUNE, 1928

No. 6



FREE ART IN AN IRON AGE  
ROCKWELL KENT

JERUSALEM LOOKS AT THE WORLD  
SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT

WHY THE FARM BLOC  
SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS

HAPPINESS IS WHAT WE'RE FOR!  
SARAH N. CLEGHORN

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52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.



## Some Present-Day Dilemmas—

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on the

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## The World Tomorrow

Vol. XI

June, 1928

No. 6

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## Who's Who in This Issue

Rockwell Kent is one of the foremost American artists. He was until recently editor of *Creative Art*.

Samuel McCrea Cavert is one of the General Secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches.

George W. Norris is United States Senator from Nebraska, long identified with every movement seeking fairness and justice. He is a leader of the farm bloc.

Sarah N. Cleghorn is a nationally known poet and educator.

Roger N. Baldwin is a director of the American Civil Liberties Union who has just achieved a notable victory in the courts of New Jersey in the interest of free speech.

Louise Driscoll frequently contributes verse to THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Anna Louise Strong is a journalist and author of several important volumes on Russia, who has spent much time in China.

O. B. Gerig is New England Secretary of the Friends Service Committee.

Doremus Scudder, formerly head of the Boston Federation of Churches, has traveled widely.

Ruth Langland Holberg is a poet and painter of New York.

Clarence Darrow is the famous lawyer and writer.

Patrick M. Malin is associated with Sherwood Eddy in his work with students.

Howard Becker, formerly editor of *The Student Challenge*, has recently returned from graduate study in Europe.

Walter Burr is professor of Sociology at the Kansas State Agricultural College.

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by W. Sherman Savage

The Instinct of Race Prejudice,

by Lorine Pruette

The Little Country Theatre,

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Freedom,

by Faye Mitchell

Pacifism and Patriotism,

by H. C. Engelbrecht

The Great Lover,

by Robert Cruden

Harvest Home (A Story),

by Martin Andersen Nexö  
(Author of *Pelle the Conqueror*)

Editorials, Not in the Headlines, Book Reviews,  
The Last Page are regular sections of each issue.



# The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XI.

June, 1928

No. 6

## Editorials

### Reinhold Niebuhr Comes to N. Y.

In April we announced that Reinhold Niebuhr had joined our staff as editor. We are now pleased to make the further announcement that he has also accepted the position of Associate Professor of Christian Ethics and Philosophy of Religion at Union Theological Seminary and will move to New York in the fall. Detroit's loss is New York's gain. The local church loses an exceptionally invigorating pastor and the city a valuable citizen, but the country at large will profit greatly by this change. From now on, in addition to his teaching functions, Mr. Niebuhr will have more freedom for sustained study, writing and speaking before strategic student conferences and religious conventions. The readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW will benefit greatly by Mr. Niebuhr's transfer of residence, as he will now be able to share more completely in the determination of the policies of this journal.

### The Socialist Platform

The platform adopted by the Socialist Party at its recent national convention is extraordinarily similar to the policies of the British Labor Party. The preamble enumerates the reasons why a third party is needed: poverty for many while a few live in extreme luxury; industrial strife; the denial of civil liberties; imperialistic wars; the similarity and the inadequacy of the Republican and Democratic parties. "Only the united efforts of farmers and workers by hand and brain, through their cooperatives, unions and political party, can save us." The Socialist Party stands for "the collective ownership of natural resources and basic industries and their democratic management for the use and benefit of all instead of the private profit of the privileged few."

The platform calls for the nationalization of coal mines, water power, railways and other means of transportation and communication as well as the banking

and currency system; unemployment insurance, health and accident insurance, old age pensions, a Federal Anti-Child Labor Amendment; increased rates of taxation of the higher incomes, appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation; enforcement of the Constitutional provision for freedom of speech, press and assembly, abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, repeal of espionage laws, enactment of a national anti-lynching bill; the calling of a national Constitutional Convention for the purpose of modernizing the Constitution; governmental aid to farmers' cooperatives, social insurance against losses due to adverse weather conditions; abandonment of military intervention in Central America and other countries, cancellation of war debts on specified conditions, entrance of the United States into the League of Nations at the time and under conditions which will further changes in the Treaty of Versailles and promote the peace of the world, recognition of the Russian government, reduction of armaments, treaties outlawing war, independence of the Philippines, autonomy for Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. No reference whatever is made to prohibition.

If it were not for the fear of being called "socialist," millions of American citizens would eagerly endorse most of the planks in this platform. A farmer-labor party based upon these policies and supported by active local organization would soon command enough votes to hold the balance of power in our national Congress and would help put reality into our political processes.

### The Socialist Candidate

The presidential candidate chosen by the Socialist National Convention indicated a new strategy. Norman Thomas is an intellectual rather than a bona fide member of the working class. He was selected because of the hope that he would make a strong appeal to intellectuals, as well as to farmers and trade unionists.



Mr. Thomas was born in Marion, Ohio, in 1884. Twenty-one years later he was graduated from Princeton. In 1911 he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from Union Theological Seminary. After serving as associate pastor of the famous Brick Presbyterian Church in New York, he became pastor of a church among working people in the east side. He was a pacifist during the World War and an organizer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He was one of the founders and the first editor of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. For several years past he has been executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy. He has traveled widely and is exceptionally well informed on world problems. He has been Socialist candidate for Governor of New York and for Mayor of New York City. His running mate on the national ticket is James H. Maurer, for many years President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and now a member of the city government of Reading.

Norman Thomas is in no sense a doctrinaire socialist. He recently said: "I am too much an admirer of the real services of Karl Marx to want to honor him by a theological orthodoxy which, to tell the truth, I have never professed." His primary purpose in the present campaign is revealed in the following words taken from an article which he recently wrote for the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*: "Nothing in our American life seems to me more important than the formation of a vigorous labor party. It is as pioneer, prophet and teacher of those who some day will form this party that the American Socialist Party finds its chief function."

Norman Thomas is probably the ablest socialist in the country. He has an unusually keen mind, an extraordinarily varied experience, brilliant platform ability, a trenchant pen, sound judgment, unquestioned integrity of character, and the courage of his convictions. Imagine such a man in the presidential chair! Not a chance! Nevertheless, imagine it!

## Women in Politics

The trial of Mrs. Knapp, former secretary of state of New York, is in a sense symbolic of the end of the romantic period of feminism in politics. If anyone still adheres to the theory that women ought to have equal rights with men because they are better than the men and because a great political reformation is to be expected from their participation in politics, the case of Mrs. Knapp ought to put a final quietus on that kind of romanticism. It is, to be sure, the first widely-heralded instance of political corruption on the part of a woman in official position but it is nevertheless significant. To it may be added the corruption of the Ferguson regime in Texas where "Ma" let herself be used as "window trimming" for the unscrupulous "Jim." Against it one may place the creditable records of Mrs. Ross in

Wyoming and of Seattle's first woman mayor. Mrs. Ross, however, won her position, as have many other women prominent in politics, by falling heir to the political prestige of a dead husband. Even the victory of Mrs. McCormick in Illinois must be partly attributed to the fact that she is the widow of Medill McCormick. While Mrs. McCormick is credited with shrewd political intelligence, there is no evidence that she has any measure of that kind of social idealism which was supposed to be the peculiar gift of women to our political future. Party conformity has been a marked characteristic of most of the women who have achieved political prominence in the years since they have gained political emancipation.

Women are, in other words, made of the same human stuff as their male consorts and they must win and preserve their political rights not because they can do better but because they can do no worse than the men.

Such a judgment can not stand, however, without a measure of qualification. There is the League of Women Voters which recently closed its annual meeting in Chicago. It is doubtful whether there is any male political group of equal intelligence or impartiality in our national life. Here is a large and growing organization which serves no party interest but is maintained by the honest desire of women to render the largest possible service to their nation by a careful appraisal of the various problems which confront us. Some of the critics of the League thought it betrayed symptoms of opportunism in the way it evaded the issues of prohibition and birth control. But the facts merely prove that the women are feeling their way with a measure of caution and are trying to preserve the integrity of their organization by not touching too many issues at one time. There are tendencies in its life which may finally betray it into innocuous desuetude. But there is no certainty that this will be its fate. At present it is still an organization of remarkable vitality. It is making a distinct contribution to our national life and its achievements may be taken as proof of the fact that if women have no distinctive political virtue there are at least large numbers of them who are still innocent politically and are not corrupted by the kind of prejudices which obfuscate the male citizen. Innocency is not virtue but there is always a chance that it will be transmuted into virtue in time.

## Students and Foreign Policy

In view of the criticisms levelled at college youth because they fail to look with serious concern on the vital affairs of current life, the thirty students from twenty-one institutions who recently descended on Washington for a week-end to express certain convictions on foreign policy might reasonably have expected a warm welcome from the White House. Instead, a



representative committee of four who called there were shided by the President's secretary and given to understand that they were simply butting in where their intelligence, if any, was decidedly not wanted. The fact that the students spoke for an age group which has to pay most heavily the costs of blundering, war-breeding foreign policies made no difference. They were simply immature meddlers.

Of course there were other reasons, doubtless, beyond the hysterical alarm over the progressive views of some youth in our universities exhibited by Mr. Coolidge in 1922 through the pages of *The Delineator*. One reason, possibly, was the students' insistence that the Administration's Nicaraguan policy was—though stated in more academic terms—a flop.

With the Senate the students fared better, interviewing eighteen senators and obtaining a sympathetic hearing although most of the Senate is undoubtedly resigned to the present policy until after the Nicaraguan elections. A set of unusually well-worked-out resolutions, crisp and competent, were distributed, as a contribution to the widespread protest against the Coolidge-Kellogg ineptitude in Nicaragua.

Irrespective of whether the immediate results of such an effort are small, as they very likely may be, this expedition to the dark corner of American public opinion, intelligently led by the Youth Section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is a most encouraging sign that our college bodies are not wanting in brainy and energetic minorities.

## The Public Be—Laughed At

The gigantic oil scandals appear to have fizzled out in a manner calculated to justify the most cynical estimates of our legal processes and our popular character. Mr. Sinclair, "exonerated" by a jury whose members subsequently have indicated their total incapacity, given the conditions of the trial, to understand anything whatever about the issues of the case, will again race his expensive horses. Considerably more indicative of his status is his retention of business connections and his haughty attitude before the Senate's investigating committee. Tune in your television set and watch the proceedings:

SENATOR WALSH: And you knew that company (Continental) was making a profit of 25 cents a barrel and were to get a part of that?

MR. SINCLAIR: My negotiations were not with the company but with Mr. Blackmer.

SENATOR WALSH: But you knew you were to get it out of the 25 cents a barrel the Continental was making?

MR. SINCLAIR: I did not care what I got it out of.

SENATOR WALSH: But the question is, did you not know you were to get it out of that?

MR. SINCLAIR: I cannot say that I did and I cannot say that I did not.

SENATOR WALSH: And yet you think you are justified in saying that you had no interest whatever in the Continental. That is an erroneous statement, is it not, Mr. Sinclair?

MR. SINCLAIR: I would not say it was and I would not say it was not. I do not believe I will argue it with you.

The more conservative newspapers have been printing letters from a flock of Sinclair sympathizers, now covertly renewing the attack on the investigators that raged in 1924. Mr. E. L. Doheny was selected as judge in the Los Angeles tryouts for a National Constitutional Contest sponsored by the Los Angeles *Times*. Mr. Will Hays is back from Europe "Mum on Politics," cheered by the refusal of New York's Young Republican Club to condemn him for his lying and shady use of fake contributors—a resolution of censure being overwhelmingly defeated. Mr. Hoover who, like Mr. Coolidge, sat in the Harding Cabinet, goes grimly on about his campaign based on "the Coolidge policies," including the President's abysmal silence regarding oil. And few are those who seem to think it strange.

We do not relish the rôle of calamity howlers; but we wonder what else than fatuous unconcern for the future of this country could lead to unqualified optimism about the moral standards of the American public.

## Egypt—Britain's Nicaragua

Great Britain has had unpleasant experiences in Egypt—all the way from riots of protest against her rule to bombings by student revolutionists and the assassination of her governing representatives. Students of imperialism, however, could hardly be surprised that the ruler does not always receive the smiles of the unwillingly ruled. Nevertheless, Britain proceeds on the assumption that Egypt's neck should utter praises to the British foot; and reacts to the outbursts of colonial resentment with outraged indignation.

All of which explains her latest bullying of the ancient land along the Nile. The Egyptian Parliament seemed likely to pass a Public Assemblies Bill which to the British view permitted a degree of free expression incompatible with the adequate protection of foreigners in Egypt. Under the "independence" granted in 1922 Britain reserved (a) the security of British communications in Egypt; (b) protection of foreign interests and minorities; (c) defense of Egypt against external aggression; (d) control of the Sudan.

These four reservations constitute the chief source of friction, and obviously make Egypt's independence fictitious. An ultimatum backed up by five ships of war, demanding in sharp tones immediate obedience by dropping the offensive bill, has forced Egypt into sullen acquiescence, but an assent that bodes no good for future relations. Japan in China and Korea, Britain in Egypt, the United States in Nicaragua! The venture in each instance differs outwardly; but at bot-



tom they are all based on an identically piratical view of property rights. To the imperialist might is the major ethical criterion.

## A Canadian Peace Department

The following bill has been introduced in the Canadian House of Commons by Miss Agnes C. Macphail: "That in the opinion of this house, the time has come for the establishment of a governmental department for the promotion of peace and international understanding." In supporting this motion, its author said: "A department of peace should be two-fold in character. First, it should have general supervision of an extensive program of peace throughout Canada. Secondly, it should cultivate friendly relations with other countries by promoting our knowledge of other people with regard to their cultural, moral and social achievements."

We do not know whether anything will come of this bill, but we certainly hope so. We have long maintained that a governmental expenditure of one hundred million dollars annually on education for peace would give the United States greater security than is achieved by the expenditure of six times this amount on the current expenses of our army and navy. If the peace forces of the country were wise they would concentrate upon this matter until appropriate action is taken by our government.

## Frankly Speaking

The childish and unproved counter-charges of our militarist friends regarding the use of the Congressional frank by peace organizations at least serve to raise certain questions regarding the whole franking privilege for government agencies and officials. Literally tons of matter are sent through the mails annually at the expense of the public, much of it for the public benefit, no doubt, and much of it, with equal clearness, for personal or partisan advantage. We have not forgotten how, as president of an undergraduate political party club in a campaign year, we distributed whole packing-case lots of our noble President's speeches and messages in order to boost his candidacy for re-election, all of them neatly inserted in sealed franked envelopes. Having once done our share to mulct the public for partisan gain, we can testify to the ease with which one may find the saving of postage a genuine help to one-sided propaganda. The frank, of course, is a tremendous political aid to the party in power.

If it should not be abolished entirely, certainly the frank deserves critical investigation, and drastic restriction to uses of unquestionable service to the people as a whole.

## Heroes of Peace

Our times may be effete; we are without doubt over-standardized. Life's histrionics may be more and more behind the footlights only. But in the war for health and social progress, muddled and perverted as it sometimes is, there is drama and a field for splendid heroism.

Private John Kissinger in 1900 contributed his stalwart courage to the elimination of yellow fever, and surviving inoculation as some did not, has only now won suitable recognition. Yellow fever, lurking in West Africa though definitely on the run, has won its fight with Dr. Adrian Stokes. J. B. S. Haldane, the British scientist, has experimented upon himself and even undergone vivisection without an anaesthetic in the effort to bring certain diseases under control and cure. Drs. Pirie and Williams, also Englishmen, have recently joined the ranks of those suffering permanent disability from X-ray injuries received in medical research. Dr. Sidney Wilson of Manchester recently died in the midst of a dangerous experiment with anaesthesia.

Dr. Glenn Kammer, of Pittsburgh, holding inflexibly to his research work on radium, has given up his life, though long before he knew the end he would not permit his unique work to halt. In a New York hospital last year half a hundred students submitted themselves for six months to self-poisoning, some swallowing milk, some the venom of insects, others a variety of vegetable poisons, none knowing whether he took milk or poison. Under constant control and observation, these volunteers may find in time that they have rendered an incalculable service to humanity—or they may learn their risk and inconvenience were but negative in result. In any case it was a splendid gamble.

Emptying every reservoir of energy time after time for months, to plan a tunnel that might come true calculation, Clifford Holland, young and scrupulous engineer, worked to such minute accuracy that the two ends of the boring when they came together far off beneath the Hudson met within a fraction of an inch. But Holland died two days before the marvelous accuracy of his work was demonstrated. Down in the caissons, in mud and scant good air, "sand hogs" have also offered up their lives.

They die, they live on maimed, they often come through safely. But the struggles of these valiant warriors is something fine in modern life. No brass bands send them out to battle; no hate is in their hearts on their lips; no slaughter of their fellow-humans leaves the world embittered and debased. They are the heroes of the everyday; and yet theirs is a heroic fight, indeed, with opportunities for some display at least of that "moral equivalent for war" which is, essentially, the struggle for human betterment, no matter where the front or which the sector.



# Free Art in an Iron Age\*

ROCKWELL KENT

IF, in looking back over our three centuries in America, we could discover anywhere an art of spontaneous origin, an art born of the pioneer in expression of himself, his time and his environment, we should find, probably, from so indigenous an origin, a continuous development of that art as an accompaniment and expression of the evolution of American culture and character, and we should have to-day a national art at once splendid with integrity, and eloquent, to our own satisfaction, of what our native character and genius are.

Assuming the New England settlers to have been exclusively a growing army of cod-fishermen and divines, we should have had a primitive architecture, to begin with woodenly reminiscent of English stone, but rapidly yielding under the stress of necessity and common sense to such pure wooden forms as the material, the tools, the use demanded and allowed. The "Dauber" of that primitive society, emerging out of no cultural background, untaught and even without memory of art, must crudely have painted either life and the wilderness as he beheld it or, of these same elements plus his Bible, Paradise as in his loneliness he yearned for it.

But the settlers of New England were not only fishermen of men and cod. Carpenters there were, men schooled in the tradition of their craft to a degree and precision that is unknown now; and under their hands were reared in the wilderness of the new world wooden adaptations of the refined architecture of renaissance England. And painters came, not with the pioneers—religious prejudice forbade—but on their heels, as rumors maybe came to them of wealth and jobs; journeymen, artists, unskilled enough as European standards stood, but trained. The "English School" spread to America; it took and stayed. That school became American Art.

DEFINITION is essential to discussion. To reach any conclusion about American progress and achievement in art it is important to come to an understanding of the term. That, for our immediate purpose, may be done by considering what we may call the *intention* of art—whether it be the absolute in an aesthetic sense or the relative in a personal sense; whether, in considering progress in art, we mean progress towards an ideal of absolute aesthetic perfection or towards one of personal, racial, or national integrity and authenticity of expression. Deliberately to

avoid a discussion of these alternatives we choose the second, and pursue our subject as an enquiry into whether and how America has achieved distinctive expression in art.

It was, perhaps, unfortunate—as affecting our subsequent cultural development—that the settlement of America occurred at so late a period in history that the arts of ship building and navigation were already adequate to the maintenance of constant communication with the mother-country. Not only did the artist come here trained in the traditions of the Royal Academy but England remained so easily accessible to the succeeding generations of painters that for two centuries the "English School" and the "American School" were identical, not only in their intention but, practically, in the general quality of their achievement; and in becoming thus accustomed to the acceptance of English tradition, we merely prepared ourselves for the eventual inclusion of Germany and France and old-world art in general as in an absolute sense the art to be revered and followed. Art came to be, as to our vast majority it is to-day, an exclusive achievement of the old world in the creation of absolute and unrelated beauty.

With art as such a quantity we are not here concerned; and if we dismiss from our consideration of American art not only our native English painters but every subsequent imported school of art, except as individuals may somehow have transcended them, we merely clarify and narrow our discussion towards its essential point.

THE late Professor Ware used to say to us students of architecture, "Design your buildings first and look at your authorities afterwards." That is a fine, brave, dangerous principle for life and art. If out of the conditions of life in America, out of the traditions of our national existence, out of the alloyed metal of the American character there has or shall appear an art ungraced and unencumbered by the formulae of authority, an art deriving its intention and its form, its being, from this native soil and life, we may recognize it as transcending in significance to us all art however beautiful that's less our own. However absolute may be these principles upon which art, like the universe, is built, its poignancy is derived from its creator's own most personal and intimate experience of life. And by its kinship to us we'll be moved by it and love it.

That such personal expression of the emotional experience of beauty is the first impulse of every artist

\*Tenth in a series of articles on "Recent Gains in American Civilization." Copyright, 1928, THE WORLD TOMORROW. Reproduction limited to 200 words.



is not to be doubted. That art may thrive and generations pass and no one be revealed who has held to that is due to the incredible rule of tradition as it is imposed by schools of art, by critics and by conservative public taste enforced through the artist's own necessity to live.

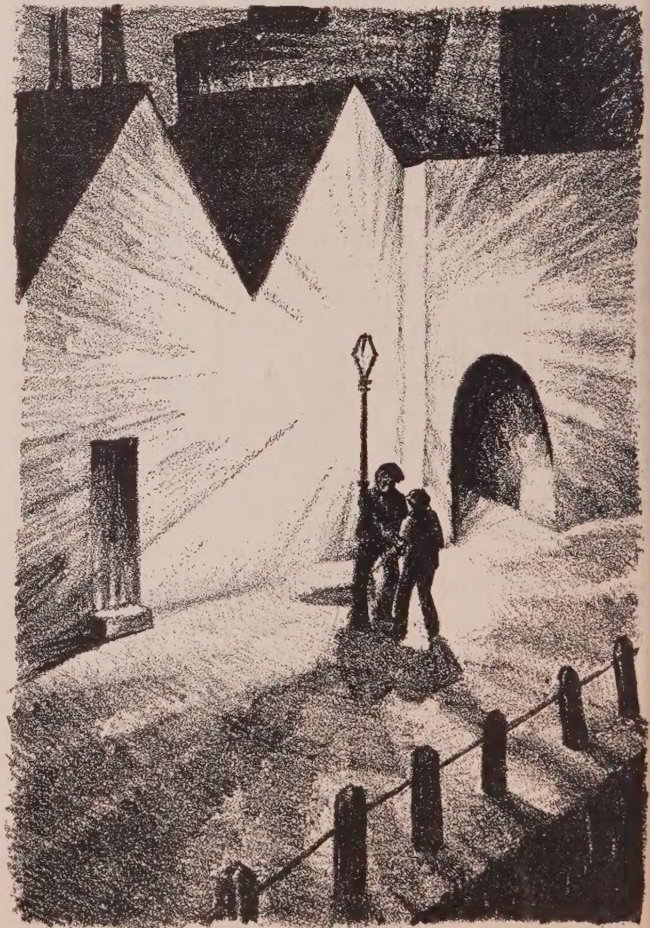
European culture was our heritage. It has been maintained by fashion and by all the agencies that dictate, follow, pander to fashion: the dealer for profit, the decorator, the architect from unintelligence, the rich for ostentation. Beginning when imported luxury appeared a splendid thing, the foreign product has been consistently exalted by all the cultural forces of our society, by the prestige of collectors, the propaganda of museums, and the example of the whole rich class that could afford to buy it and the cultured travelled class that knew how to talk about it. It is small wonder that we have produced in art so little to call ours.

**I**F the founding, early in the nineteenth century, of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts displayed a growing public interest in art and an awakening to the need of facilities for its study, it did nothing towards freeing American art from the parent art of England. It established the classic ideal, intrenched it behind the safeguard of incorporated policy and sustained it by endowment. And with the National Academy of Design, formed in secession from the New York Academy, was begun the strongest and most reactionary opposition that the development in America of any individual or national ideal has encountered. That eventually the English influence was succeeded by the French and that in turn by the school of Munich, that these innovations were dignified by secession and graced again by reconciliation in no way affects the clearly defined issue: the classic ideal against the individual ideal. And that the National Academy stands to-day shorn of its dignity, forlorn, discredited, is evidence of the defeat of an outworn ideal by the rampant individualism of now.

It is in the revolt of the individual against the tyranny of every dogma, that wild revolt which for a generation has been gathering strength, that has cultivated irreverence and made a boast of it, that has offended taste and shattered standards, that has burst the confines of tradition and poured down every avenue and back alley of expression, it is by that revolt and from that freedom to perform in art what one desires to or can that we may have at last an art as free and beautiful as all the joys and sorrows of our land shall need for their fulfillment. Art missed the early beauties and tragedies, the sordidness, the hope, the agony or what it was of settling, struggling here to live; it missed three centuries of war and peace, of fervent life, of faith, of intolerance; it missed the vir-

gin forests of New England, the flooded bottom lands of the great valleys, the Five Nations, slavery, the pageant of Saratoga.

Three centuries have passed; out of our fair and frail experiment in freedom has grown a nation richer and more powerful than a hundred Romes, and while ideals have undergone a transmutation into law and laws have come to serve their master, capital, art that was once apart, a refuge, a sanctuary of unreality against, we may suppose, the austere facts of freedom, or an escape into non-existence from the repressions of the godly life, art, now that liberty is gone, is free. It is free in an iron age to proclaim the might, magnificence and power of commerce, industry, wealth, war, of wild extravagance, of repression, of drunkenness, of fervent faithfulness; and it is free to hate all this—to find no beauty anywhere but in the intimate and most secret realities of the human spirit and in the way of life that may evoke them; and against the brazen clamor of jazz there may be heard as from remote, deep, starlit, inner spaces of man's being dissonances frail and infinitely poignant. That may be modern art.



—Lynd Ward



# Jerusalem Looks at the World

SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT

THE meeting of the International Missionary Council which was held on the Mount of Olives, overlooking Jerusalem, during the fortnight ending on Easter Day was a revelation of far-reaching changes that have been taking place in the missionary movement. Those who have not been in direct contact with it during the last few years could hardly be less than amazed at the fresh currents of thought and the expanding horizons that were disclosed. If one were to attempt to gather up into a single clause what has been happening, he would say that foreign missions have been becoming a great enterprise in world fellowship.

True though it be that the missionary movement has in the past not always been free from a measure of patronizing condescension, there can be no doubt today that it is rapidly becoming not something that we do *for* others as a philanthropy but something that we do *with* them as a common task. Fellowship is the one word that most accurately sounds the keynote of modern missions.

The spirit of world fellowship was not merely asserted but was actually incarnated at Jerusalem. Even at the risk of indulging in too easy superlatives, it may be confidently claimed that this gathering, more than any other Christian assembly ever held, transcended all racial and national lines. Although the number in attendance was strictly limited, being less than 250, the members came from fifty different nations and represented most of the important racial groups beneath the sun. Other recent international Christian gatherings have probably included a greater range of denominational groups—both Stockholm and Lausanne, for example, had official representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church, as Jerusalem did not—but none other has brought together so many and so widely separated peoples conscious of a deep-rooted oneness because of their united allegiance to Jesus Christ.

## *Toward Inter-Racial Fellowship*

THE arrangements for the conference, no less than the personnel, ministered to a rich inter-racial fellowship. All lived together for two weeks, dwelling in tents or rough huts reminiscent of an army cantonment during the war. All dined together at a common table. In the assembly hall one was sure to find as his nearest neighbors on both right hand and left the representatives of other races than his own. In the program, likewise, black and yellow were obviously on

an equal footing with the white. Bishop Uzaki of Japan, for example, was chairman of the committee that prepared the report on racial problems as they affect the missionary enterprise, and Max Yergan, the American Negro who has rendered such notable service among the students of South Africa, was the secretary. Of the committee on the relations between the churches of the West and the newer churches of the East, Dr. Cheng-Ching-Yi, of China, was chairman; of the committee on rural problems in the Orient, K. T. Paul, of India. When one recalls that as recently as the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 the Orientals were chiefly conspicuous by their absence, it is not easy to exaggerate the almost revolutionary advance that has been made in developing the spirit of mutuality in the missionary movement.

The significance of this appears in part in the fact that it now seems an established policy that henceforth major questions of policy and program will be determined not by mission boards and missionaries alone, but by the free interchange of thought and experience between the Christians of the East and those of the West. After a delegation from China to a great missionary gathering has been made up of fourteen Chinese and only six missionaries, as was the case at Jerusalem, the Christian enterprise in China is less likely to appear, or to be, something imposed by a foreign agency. But even more important is the dawning recognition among the churches of America and Europe that they will themselves be recipients, and not givers alone, in this worldwide Christian movement. No lesser adjective than "epoch-making" will quite describe such a statement as this, included in the message enthusiastically adopted by the Council at Jerusalem:

We urge that every possible step be taken to make real the fellowship of the Gospel. The Churches of Europe send missions and missions-of-help to the Churches of Africa and Asia. We believe that the time is come when all would gain if the younger churches were invited to send missions-of-help to the churches of Europe and America, not to ask for assistance, not to advertise their own need or their own development, but to minister of their treasure to the spiritual life of those to whom they come.

Let us translate this somewhat abstract statement into the concrete. Has not T. Kagawa, out of his sacrificial work among the industrial masses of Osaka and Kobe, something to teach the American churches that are so smugly complacent in the face of economic injustice and suffering? Have the American churches, that move so tardily toward unity, nothing to learn



from Cheng-Ching-Yi, the moderator of the new united Church of Christ in China, including in one body the Christians of sixteen different missions? Has our secular-minded West no need to sit at the feet of Sadhu Sundar Singh of India and discover new possibilities of inner serenity through conscious contact with unseen reality?

When the Council came to putting into official words its convictions as to the practical meaning of the Christian view of inter-racial fellowship, it has to be admitted that the result was not all that might have been expected. A small minority were fearful lest somebody might infer an approval of inter-marriage from any favorable reference to "social equality." This led to a rather involved debate over the wording of a single sentence in the report on racial relationships as submitted by the committee:

In lands where two races live side by side the fullest participation of all in racial intermingling for social, cultural and, above all, religious fellowship, \* \* \* is the natural expression of our common Christianity.

Although the real substance of the statement was not altered the objection of a few white delegates as to the phraseology left an unhappy impression of timidity and compromise.

### *Towards International Fellowship*

FROM an assembly brought together from fifty different nations one might look for a declaration on international peace which would echo around the world. That such an utterance was not forthcoming was a disappointment to not a few. The statement on war which was proposed was a rather colorless one, hardly up to the level of most of the deliverances hitherto made by various church bodies in America. It contented itself with saying that war is "a most grievous hindrance to the triumph of this spirit (of the Prince of Peace) among men" and with calling Christian people to "unremitting prayer and effort" for the adoption of "such methods for the settlement of international differences as will make the resort to war unnecessary and impossible." This resolution was somewhat strengthened by an amendment from the floor urging "the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy" but another amendment declaring "all war" to be "a denial of the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ" was lost.

The relatively lesser interest in the question of war, as compared with other great social and international issues, may perhaps be better understood when one tries to put himself in the place of a people struggling for national freedom like the Chinese or the Indians. As a distinguished Indian Christian put it, in a personal conversation:

The reams of anti-war literature which you American and English pour forth leave us rather cold. Somehow it looks as if you who gained most from the last war are unwilling that other peoples should try to gain their ends by the same method which you used and which still appears to be the only method available.

At one point of international interest, however, pertaining to the use of military or naval forces for the protection of missionaries, the Council took most advanced ground. And it is at precisely this concrete point where the missionaries and the mission boards have it in their power to do something constructive and far-reaching in its effect on the foreign policies of governments. The Council, not unanimously but by a safe majority, went on record as urging on all missionary societies that they should "make no claim on their governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property." Yet this issue only narrowly escaped being sidetracked by being referred, without discussion, to the missionary councils in the various lands. The matter did not find a place on the agenda till the eleventh hour and the objection was raised by British delegates that it ought not to be passed upon by the International Missionary Council until it had had more consideration in the several countries. The objection was overruled through the insistence of a few of the American members, especially reenforced by missionaries from the Orient. Stanley Jones, of India, seemed to express the voice of most of the missionaries when he declared that if nothing were done on this crucial matter, it would negative many of the other and admirable things that had been done by the Council. The full resolution, as finally adopted, was as follows:

Inasmuch as Christian missions involve the largest possible identification of the missionary with the people of the country of his adoption; and

Inasmuch as missionaries have generally relied upon the goodwill of the people among whom they live and the government of the locality for the protection of their lives and property; and

Inasmuch as missionaries, both as individuals and in groups, and several missionary societies have asked that steps be taken to make plain that they do not depend upon or desire the protection of foreign military forces in the country of their residence; and

Inasmuch as the use or the threat of armed forces of the country from which they come for the protection of the missionary and missionary property not only creates widespread misunderstanding as to the underlying motive of missionary work, but also gravely hinders the acceptance of the Christian message;

The International Missionary Council (1) Places on record its conviction that the protection of missionaries should be only by such methods as will promote goodwill in personal and official relations, and



(2) Urges on all missionary societies that they make no claim on their governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property.

Further, the Council instructs its officers to collect and circulate to the national missionary organizations information concerning any action regarding this matter that has been or may be taken by the missionary societies.

Finally, the International Missionary Council desires to record its conviction that the foreign missionary enterprise is a spiritual and moral and not a political enterprise and its work should be carried on within two great human rights alone, the right of religious freedom for all men, and the maintenance by each nation of law and order for all within its bounds.

### *Towards Industrial Fellowship*

MOST remarkable of all was the interest of the Jerusalem meeting in the problems created by the expansion of our western industrialism into lands whose economic development is not far advanced. Yet, on second thought, this concern was surely to be expected from any missionary forces that are to count for much in bringing more abundant life to the peoples of Africa and Asia. Anyone who is still blind to the moral and social damage wrought in the West by an industrial order organized around the profit motive had better go to China or South Africa. There he can hardly escape being jolted wide awake by the ruthless exploitation of helpless races unprotected by the safeguards which the West has, with painful slowness, built up to curb the worst rapacities of our economic system.

All this, as was revealed at Jerusalem, the missionary is beginning to see with his own eyes. How can he hope to effect the redemption of Chinese children so long as they go to work at six or seven years of age, for eleven or twelve hours a day, to make profits for the investors in silk filatures? What can he do for the Negroes of Africa who are doomed to forced labor of a character which, according to the testimony given at Jerusalem by the chief of the Native Races Section of the International Labor Organization, meant the death of ninety per cent of one contingent in a few years?

Conditions as these the International Missionary Council is facing with such refreshing realism that one is justified in the expectation that the missionary movement is to be the stoutest champion of the human rights of the backward peoples of the earth. This hope takes fresh form by virtue of a decision at Jerusalem to establish as an integral part of the Council an international bureau of research into economic and industrial questions as they bear on the life of the peoples among whom missionaries are at work.

This bureau, it is believed, will have a significance closely akin to that of the research department of the Federal Council of the Churches in America, the new organization, however, confining its study to problems which most directly affect the missionary enterprise. In each case the essential purpose is the same—to undergird moral passion with a basis of authoritative fact which will make it possible to affect strongly the public opinion of the world.

### *The Best Days Lie Ahead*

DOES some reader wonder whether this enthusiastic interpretation of the contributions which foreign missions are making to the building of a new world of fellowship is not much rosier than the present situation, as a whole, will justify, and fails to take account of great elements of inertia and conservatism in the missionary movement? It may be so. But no one could have participated in the Jerusalem meeting and still feel that the best days of the missionary enterprise lie behind us. Changes are taking place, that is sure, but they are making the foreign missions of the future an even greater thing than they have been in the past. And the reason is not far to seek. It is because the missionary movement is rooted in an ever-enlarging experience of the moral and spiritual lordship of Jesus Christ. In other days that experience expressed itself in a courageous commitment to win all parts of the world to discipleship. That commitment remains, but vastly intensified. For today the missionary responsibility is being envisaged as bringing also all the areas of human activity and social relationships under his sway. There are still, it is true, "unoccupied fields" in a geographical sense—Thibet and Afghanistan and many other sections of the globe not effectively reached by the Christian Gospel—but the horizon of the new missionary task equally includes as "unoccupied fields" every realm of our social and economic and international life that has not been brought to acknowledge Christ's law of love.



—J. J. Lankester



# Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

## Andrews Elected to India Trade Union Conference

C. F. Andrews was recently elected President of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the coming year.

## No Lynchings in First Third of 1928

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced recently that no lynching had been reported anywhere in the U. S. during the first third of the year 1928. This breaks a thirty-nine year record for the United States.

## Pistol Permits

In the nine years from 1918 through 1926 1,882 persons were killed by pistols in New York City. Policemen, in performance of duty, killed 139. Only 8 people were shot by persons defending their lives. This means that pistols are manufactured and sold for illegal use and for crime purposes. The old selling gag of "protection" and "self defense" is not sound. Pistols are too easy to buy; permits are too easily obtained. A good move has been started in the reducing of pistol permits granted from 40,000 to 20,000; the finger-printing everybody entrusted with a permit; and the regulation that those who have had pistols and lost them must present evidence as to what has become of their old weapons.

## The Northwest to Have Institute

For several years at Williamstown, Massachusetts, there has been, each summer, an Institute of Politics. Last year an Institute of Public Affairs was launched for each summer at the University of Virginia. In Honolulu is the Institute of Pacific Relations. This year the University of Washington, Seattle, is to have a week's Institute of International Relations from July 22 to 27. These four institutes—the first two continue through several weeks—are organized for serious study of politics and international relations. The one in Washington will concentrate on the problems of the Pacific and the Orient.

## Prosperity—for the Banks

The year 1927 was a profitable one for banks in the larger cities of the United States and Canada. Bank stockholders, in the United States particularly, were enriched because of numerous stock dividends, extra cash dividends and capital increases, resulting in valuable rights that were declared. Despite the numerous distributions that have been paid to the stockholders of the larger banks there is still a surprisingly large number of banks equally as prosperous but which have not, as yet, given away any of the fruits of this prosperity. Consequently they have very large Surplus and Undivided Profits compared to their Capital. The First National Bank is one of these. Its capital is listed at \$10,000,000; its Surplus and Undivided Profits on December 31, 1927, were \$82,799,100. It seems that in 1925 this same bank took a profit of 140 per cent on its capital and its stock jumped from \$100 to \$2,950. Forty-nine of the New York banks averaged 50 per cent dividends the same year.

## France to Publish Her War Archives

The French Government, after long hesitation and a good deal of pressure, has published a decree providing for the establishment of a commission in the Foreign Ministry to be charged with the publication of the diplomatic documents relative to the outbreak of the World War. M. Charléty, rector of the Academy of Paris, will head the Commission, which will include historians and specialists, diplomats and members of the Institute of France.

## Colleges Cost \$300,000,000 Yearly

The annual cost of higher education in the United States is \$300,000,000, and to maintain the system more generous private and state support, as well as more adequate fees from students will be required. About a fourth of this yearly cost is met through private philanthropy. Since 1900, gifts to education have increased enormously. Endowments are more than five times greater than in that year.

## U. S. Pays League Expense Share

The United States Government has handed the League of Nations 83,743 Swiss francs as a contribution toward the expenses of the recent conferences in which it has participated; the economic conference in May, the transit conference in August, the import and export conference in October, and the last session of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament conference.

This is not the first time America has contributed in this way. We paid a share of the expenses of the conferences on arms and the traffic in opium. In Geneva these payments are viewed with satisfaction as tending to the maintenance of good relations between America and the League.

## Adult Education Survey

A study of public education of adults from 1924-26, by L. R. Alderman, has recently been issued by the United States Bureau of Education (Bulletin, 1927, No. 18). It deals with the work of state departments of education, city school systems and university extension courses. More than 60 per cent of the states have already enacted legislation to promote adult education. There is a wide variation in these laws. California, for instance, requires illiterates between 18 and 20 years of age to attend school. Connecticut requires school districts of more than 10,000 inhabitants to maintain evening schools for persons over 14 years of age. In New York state the commissioner of education is authorized to pay to each local district one-half the salary paid to each teacher in immigrant education, up to \$1,000 for each teacher. Classes for immigrants may be held wherever the local school authorities consider it advisable in order to give instruction to illiterate and non-English-speaking people. According to the report 24 states supervise elementary adult education; 13 states have full-time supervisors of such instruction; 21 states give financial aid for adult education; 17 states report 45 institutions offering special training for teachers of adult classes; 12 states have illiteracy commissions.



# Why the Farm Bloc

GEORGE W. NORRIS

IS agriculture an issue in the present campaign? Will the farmers have to be taken into account by the Presidential candidates? More than that, have the farmers a grievance which can be, at least in part, remedied by political action? The answers to these questions will throw light upon much of the present political strategy and, more important, upon the question as to whether the farmer can really get any relief and solid help through legislation.

Many politicians are trying to dodge the issue. They say to the farmer: "What you want is class legislation. And that, as you know, is always bad. Your ills are purely economic. You ought to try to find remedies in the economic field. The law of supply and demand is stronger than any act of legislature. The advice you farmers ought to heed is two-fold: First, keep out of politics. Do not try to be so un-American as to get special privileges for your group which are denied to others. Secondly, get together and work out your problems without an appeal to legislation. Your difficulties would disappear if you organized and earned, through cooperatives or other methods, to market your products so that you got adequate returns."

To which the farmer very angrily replies: "That is good advice. You really ought to begin to preach that to the aluminum manufacturers, the sugar barons, and the host of millionaires who profit from the high tariff. You have for long dealt piously and patriotically with the protection of infant industries. When these infants grew to be giants, you continued to protect them as though they were helpless babes. Have you ever advised this group about the importance of economic laws and the need of avoiding special privileges? Have you informed them about the sacred law of supply and demand which dare not be interfered with? Furthermore, has this group ever been told that it must not play politics? We have heard rather frequently of late about huge campaign contributions, about powerful lobbies, and the like with which this very group was identified. Therefore, if advice is to be given, let it be to all. Do not exclude the farmer from benefits that are granted as a matter of course to others."

It must be conceded that the farmer is right. The ills of the farmer are not only economic, they are also political. It is not merely a matter of law of supply and demand, for it is obvious that that sacred old superstition can readily be voided, both by private agreements and by legislation. To advise free com-

petition, to be opposed to class privileges, to decry political action in economic distress, is in this case so obviously a subterfuge that it needs no further demonstration. More than that, the ills of the farmer are in large part caused by legislation or unequal application of laws, that the farmer may readily seek relief through legislative action.

THE farm situation is serious. The value of farm lands and farm buildings has decreased enormously since 1920. The return on capital invested is far below that of industrial capital. The prices received by the farmers for their products are far below his actual needs. On the other hand farmers pay heavier taxes in proportion to their incomes than any other group. The result of all this is that 40 per cent of the farmers are tenants who cultivate two-thirds of the improved acreage of the country. Literally millions have left the farm in the decade since the war, and others will follow. Thousands of farms have been put under the auctioneer's hammer and sold for a song. Banks in the agricultural regions have found it increasingly difficult and dangerous to lend money on farms. Scores of them have come to grief on that investment. The more powerful of them are accumulating an ever increasing farm area which makes large numbers of farmers almost feudal appendages to wealthy banks. There is real distress in the farm region of the Middle West. The farmers have a real grievance.

This distress is not due to inefficiency. The American farmer could no doubt increase his efficiency by the further use of machines, fertilizers, etc. The enormous possibilities of American agriculture were demonstrated in part during the war emergency when more intensive cultivation was a necessity. But the problem of today is not that of production. The farmer produces too much as it is. This drives down prices and in order to gain more, he produces still more, thus driving prices still lower. The problem is in distribution, in marketing.

The farmer's distress is not due to laziness, either, or to the demand for extraordinary privileges. As it is today the farmer must call upon his entire family to help. His wife and children are generally active at his side. In many cases that means neglect of school and even the health of the children. Far from asking anything special the farmer is merely seeking to catch up with the advantages enjoyed by others. Even in



the matter of entertainment he lags far behind his fellow worker in the cities.

This serious situation on the farms by which far reaching inequalities have been created and great discontent generated, is not of the farmer's making, nor did it arise through his neglect or inability. In the same way it cannot be remedied by any concerted action of the farm group. There is in the situation much that has arisen through political action, and therefore much that can be remedied in like manner. It may be true that the ultimate solution lies in the field of economics and will be achieved by the farmer, but politics and economics meet more often and more closely than is usually conceded, and political action can help to solve, at any rate relieve, the present distress.

**B**EFORE proceeding to discuss possible remedies for the existing troubles, let us get a picture as to how the farmer is being harmed by the tariff, the railroads, etc.

It is generally conceded that the farmer ought to participate in any advantages which the manufacturer and laboring man derive from the tariff. But he does not. For the farmer is compelled to buy in a protected market and to sell in the world market. For that reason he does not benefit from the tariff. The manufacturer raises his price to the tariff level and has no foreign competition to meet until he goes above that level. Meanwhile the added cost produced by the tariff is passed from manufacturer to jobber, to wholesaler, to retailer, and is finally collected from the consumer. Each in turn adds a little to the price, so that the ultimate consumer pays more than the tariff.

The situation is quite different with the farmer. In the principal staple food products the farmer produces a surplus year for year. His market is not only the United States, but he must sell his surplus in the competitive field against the wheat of India, the Argentine, Russia, and other parts of the world. Despite the fact that there is a tariff on wheat, the price of wheat in the United States is determined by the price of the world market. If we produce a surplus of 200,000,000 bushels of wheat, this surplus sold at world prices fixes the price in the U. S. A. Thus the great over-production deprives the farmer of all benefits of the tariff.

Consider further the very high cost of distribution paid by the farmer. Freight rates are passed on by the manufacturer in the same way as the cost of the tariff, until they are paid by the ultimate consumer. But the farmer is at the end of the road. He pays freight rates for what he buys, but he cannot pass on his freight rates. Whenever he sells anything the purchaser deducts freight as the first step. Thus the

farmer pays twice. More than that, his freight bill has been increased from 50 to 75 per cent on everything he bought and sold since the war.

The Canadian farmer is in much better shape. He pays from 15 to 25 cents less per bushel in freight to market his wheat. Yet one might imagine that the Canadian roads, passing through so much sparsely settled territory with little business, would charge higher freight rates. But Canada manages otherwise. One of its great railway systems is owned by the Government and this road fixes the rates which the private companies must meet. Thus the excessive charges on the farmer's transportation are prevented. American railroads charge all the traffic will bear. This burden rests far more heavily on the Western farmer than on his brother in the East, because his haul to market is longer. Thus freight rates are a very important link in the farmer's chain of woes.

There is also the matter of marketing or distributing the farmer's crop. Thousands of middlemen wax fat by levying tribute on the products of the farmer as they pass through his hands. The farmer receives in the neighborhood of ten billion dollars for his goods, while the consumers pay about thirty billion dollars for them. Some way can surely be found by which the farmer shall get more than a mere third of the price paid by the consumer.

**H**OW can the farmer be helped? Various proposals have been before the Congress for farm relief, chief among them the McNary-Haugen Bill. They have all failed. President Coolidge in vetoing the McNary-Haugen Bill last session declared:

"Putting the government directly into business is merely a combination of subsidy and price fixing aggravated by political pressure, leading logically to telling the farmer by law what and how much he should plant and where he should plant it, and what and how much he should sell and where he should sell it."

The President suggested instead the development of cooperative marketing and a revolving loan fund for necessary financing.

I think the President is wrong. Nevertheless I have always admitted that the McNary-Haugen Bill has two sides to it and I know that there are a good many honest, sincere men, both in Congress and out, who would do almost anything to bring relief to stricken agriculture but who, nevertheless, opposed bitterly this particular measure.

The object of the McNary-Haugen Bill is to take off the domestic market the exportable surplus. It is admitted by everybody that when our farmers produce a surplus and must sell that surplus in the world market, the price of the margin fixes the price of the entire product sold this side of the tariff wall. In



order to give the farmer the benefit of the tariff on his products, the McNary-Haugen Bill undertook by its machinery to take this surplus off the market, sell it abroad and then, in effect, levy an assessment on the producers to bear this loss. If this could be done, it is admitted that the domestic price would rise to the level of the tariff wall. In other words, the McNary-Haugen Bill undertook to give to the farmers the benefit of the tariff.

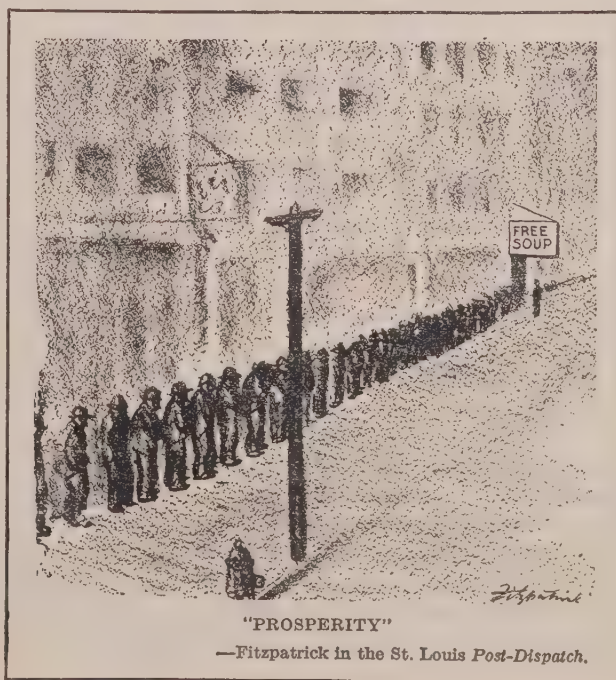
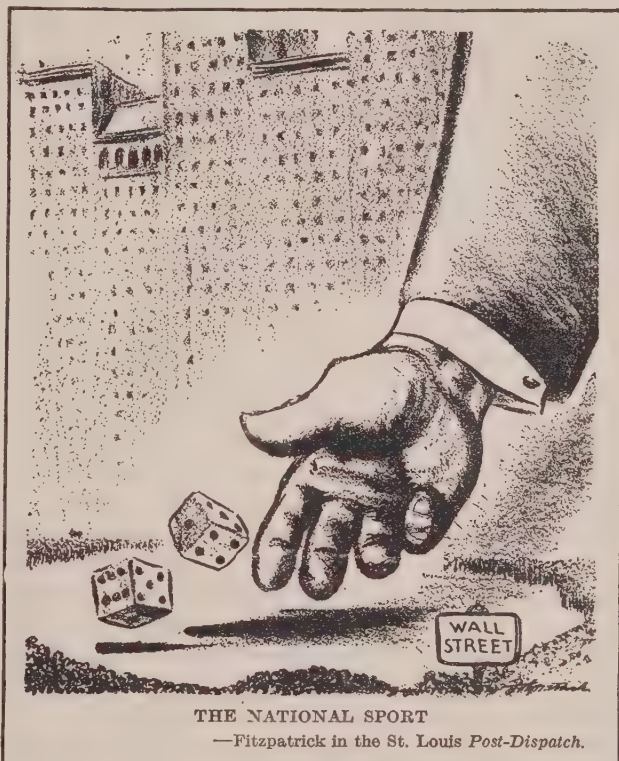
But that necessarily includes the equalization fee. This money, advanced by the Government and then collected from the farmers, is essential to the scheme. Without the equalization fee the McNary-Haugen Bill would be empty words. Still it should not be overlooked that the collection from the farmers again puts these at a disadvantage. The farmers themselves are to pay for the benefits they derive from his protection. The manufacturer pays no such fee for his protection.

This is the proposal before the country for several years, passed by both houses and vetoed by the President. The friends of the farmer have never been able to muster sufficient strength to pass the measure over the President's veto. Other measures would also benefit the farmer, particularly the reduction of freight rates and the organization of a market that is at once less expensive and also more direct, in other words, more sales to the ultimate consumer and the reduction or elimination of the middlemen. But the greatest promise at present lies in the McNary-Haugen Bill.

THE cry has gone up that the farmer is in politics. To one that knows, this sounds like a poor joke. Big Business is in politics. The railroads are in politics. All the trusts are in politics. Not only are these combinations in politics, they are in dirty politics. They are spreading propaganda from one end of the country to the other, deceitful in its nature and false in its very origin, and the peculiar thing about it is that all the expense, running into hundreds of millions, is charged to either the producer or the consumer, or both. The best illustration of this at present is the Power Trust which pours out money almost like water. It is attempting to prevent the full development of Muscle Shoals and is demanding a rake-off when the power of the Colorado is developed. Men who want to preserve the great natural resources for the people are ridiculed and wherever possible driven out of public life.

If the farmer is in politics, it is because he has a deep interest in regaining a fair chance for a living, in wiping out his debts, and earning a fair return on his products. This interest is shared by every patriotic citizen. Farmers are the backbone of the nation and any serious ill threatening them is certain to affect the entire country. But aside even from that every real

American ought to be deeply interested in helping this class, now trampled underfoot, regain those sacred rights which our forefathers supposed they had put in the fundamental law when they declared our independence. It is with these aims in mind that the farmer is voting in the campaign of this year.





# Pacifism and International Police

KIRBY PAGE

CYNICISM concerning the ability of international agencies of justice to enforce their decisions constitutes one of the highest barriers to peace. Agreement is obviously more effective than violence as a way to settle disputes between nations. War is undeniably a barbarous and destructive method of handling international controversies. Yet the peoples of the earth continue to squander their resources on armaments and to rely upon armies and navies for security. They are afraid to trust each other and lack confidence in international processes.

Much of the trouble is due to a false analogy. A very familiar argument runs this way: In any society restraint is necessary; force is essential to effective coercion; a permanent body of police is required to administer the use of force against wrongdoers; no such international police force now exists and it seems improbable that one will be created within the near future; therefore, the maintenance and use of national armies and navies are necessary in order to restrain criminal nations. This argument appears so reasonable that it is accepted without question by most people. Let us, however, examine its soundness more carefully.

Two tests should be applied to any use of force. First, is it effective? Second, is it ethical? Can the members of a local community adequately be protected against criminals by the use of force? Can force be used in such a way as to be ethically justifiable? It seems to me that these questions may be answered in the affirmative. To say that physical force is never defensible is to uphold anarchy. Personally I am convinced that a state of anarchy would produce utterly disastrous results. As long as certain individuals are undeveloped, undisciplined, diseased or depraved it will be necessary for the other members of society to protect themselves by the forcible restraint of dangerous criminals.

Can this be done in an ethical way? I think so. It is possible to use physical force in such a manner as to protect society and to aid in the restoration of the criminal to right relations with his fellows. By the use of force society may prevent certain crimes from being committed. By forcible separation from society for a period such influences may be brought to bear upon the wrongdoer as to result in his cure or regeneration. Forcible arrest and imprisonment may, therefore, conceivably accomplish the double purpose of protecting society and redeeming the criminal; that is, force may be used in a way that is both effective and ethical.

This is not to say that the present penal system is defensible or that capital punishment is justifiable. Too often our present society is dominated by the idea of revenge—so much punishment for so much crime. All too frequently our prisons are breeding-places for more crime. If society had the will to do it, however, criminals could be temporarily placed in an environment where science, education and religion could be combined in the effort to cure them of physical ailments, discipline their characters and instil higher ideals. In the case of dangerous criminals who are incurable, permanent seclusion from society may be required. I am strongly convinced, however, that capital punishment is neither effective nor ethical.

What about organized societies that become dangerous? How can a state be restrained from doing damage to a neighbor? By what means can an interstate agency of justice enforce its decisions? What methods are effective? Which ones are ethical? The experience of the Supreme Court of the United States sheds light on these questions. In the first place, it is important to remember that two kinds of cases come before the Supreme Court: sometimes a judgment of the Court is against an individual or a corporation, sometimes it is against a state. The strategy of the Court differs sharply in the two varieties of cases. A decision against an individual or corporation will be enforced if necessary by calling upon the sheriff or police, whereas in a hundred and forty years the Court has never called for the use of physical force against a state. In the former cases, force may be used effectively and ethically, while in the latter the opposite is true.

Upon what does the Supreme Court rely for the enforcement of its decisions against states? The expressed willingness of the respective states to abide by its judgments and the power of public opinion, upon these and these alone has the Court relied. One of its decisions was flagrantly disregarded and in several other cases long delays occurred before the judgment was accepted by the respective states. Yet the Court has never sought to use armed force against a state. In 1792 an individual named Chisholm sued the state of Georgia and was awarded a judgment by the Supreme Court. Whereupon the legislature of Georgia not only refused to pay the money due but passed a law declaring that any person attempting to enforce the Court's decision would be "guilty of felony" and would "suffer death by being hanged." What did the Supreme Court do in the face of this insubordination and insult? Those who reason by analogy are like



to say that the law must be enforced at any cost, if necessary by calling upon the Federal Government for armed troops. What would have happened if a Federal army had started toward Atlanta? The result would have been war and the destruction of many lives. Under the circumstances the use of physical force would have been neither effective nor ethical. The Supreme Court simply waited. The other twelve states sided with Georgia. The result was the eleventh amendment to the Constitution declaring that the Supreme Court does not have jurisdiction in the case of a suit of an individual against a state. Which was better, to precipitate war or for the Court to be insulted and overruled?

In the case of Virginia against West Virginia there was a long delay before the decision of the Supreme Court was accepted. When West Virginia was formed into a separate state during the Civil War, it agreed to pay part of the Virginia debt. This promise was not carried out. In 1915 the case was brought before the Supreme Court and a judgment awarded against West Virginia. No action was taken by the latter. In 1918 Virginia sought a mandamus to compel payment. While the Supreme Court was considering the matter, West Virginia acted. Public opinion had been operating inside and outside of the state. The more conscientious citizens of the state had been endeavoring to persuade their public officials to fulfill the obligations of the commonwealth. Citizens of other states had exerted the pressure of moral condemnation. In time the pressure of public opinion proved to be sufficient.

LET us now consider the international situation. How can a criminal nation be restrained? How can an international body such as the Permanent Court or the League of Nations enforce its decisions? Those who reason by analogy are inclined to say that just as a police force is necessary in a local community so an international police is required in the world at large. This point of view was well expressed by Lyman Abbott: "The time is coming when all the military forces of the civilized world will be one police force, under one chief of police, with one international legislature to decide what is the will of the nations, with one international court to interpret the official and legal intelligence of the nations, and just enough navy to make the world safe, under a common direction and common control—and no more." This is, of course, a very extreme point of view. A much more common idea is that the respective nations should place armed forces at the disposal of the World Court or the League of Nations if required for the enforcement of international obligations. This latter attitude found expression in Article 16 of the Covenant of the League. In emergencies, after other

means have failed, the Council is authorized to advise or recommend that the members of the League furnish armed forces to be used against a recalcitrant nation. Thus far the League has made no effort to use armed sanctions.

In all probability the League could use armed force effectively against a small power, say Bulgaria or Greece. But in such a case armaments are not required. There are other effective ways of coercing a weak nation. Where a great power is concerned, however, the League dare not use armed force. Any effort to coerce France or Great Britain, for example, with armaments would probably lead to a general war, as the other nations would almost certainly be divided in sentiment. There is a rapidly growing conviction among League members that the armed sanction section of Article 16 cannot safely be used. The prevailing tendency is to look elsewhere than the League for armed security. Wherever the League could use armed force effectively it is not required; wherever it seems to be needed it cannot be used without extreme danger.

Moreover, if the League wages war against a recalcitrant power such action would create serious ethical problems. Innocent people would bear the brunt of that kind of war as they do in every other war. For every responsible official or citizen of the country being coerced who is captured or killed, there would be scores of innocent victims. War always kills ten or a hundred or a thousand innocent people for every responsibly guilty individual destroyed. Such a method seems to me to be entirely unjustifiable on ethical grounds.

Upon what coercive measures should the League rely for the enforcement of international obligations? Three mighty forces are available: the moral power of public opinion, the diplomatic boycott, financial and economic pressure. The first of these is by all odds the most important. Public opinion, however, will prove impotent in serious crises unless certain preliminary conditions are fulfilled. The nations must first outlaw war and commit themselves to the peace system. They must not only delegalize war as a method of settling international controversies, they must demonstrate their faith in one another and in the processes of peace by drastic reductions in armaments. Before they will be ready to do this, however, an effective peace system must be created. The structure of peace must include: (1) diplomacy, (2) conciliation, (3) arbitration, (4) international courts, (5) regular international conferences to consider economic and political questions, (6) permanent international administrative agencies, such as the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, the Pan American Union, etc., (7) outlawry treaties, (8) disarmament.

Fortunately, this structure of peace is rapidly be-



ing strengthened. It is probably true to say that more progress in this regard has been made in the past decade than during the previous century. We are approaching the time when public opinion will prove to be the most effective factor in securing the observance of international obligations. There is reason to believe that the United States is now prepared to go as far as the signatories of Locarno, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland have already gone in delegitimizing war. Those Americans who are fearful that the present negotiations between the United States and five other great powers for an outlawry treaty may not be successful should take hope from the fact that numerous treaties of this character have recently been ratified in Europe. The Locarno signatories, for example, "mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." The only reservations have to do with "the right of legitimate defense" and the provision for collective action against a signatory which violates the pact. Secretary Kellogg and Senator Borah have said emphatically that the draft treaty presented by the former in no way deprives the signatories of the right of self-defense or the right to act collectively against a violator of the agreement. That is to say, Locarno goes quite as far toward the outlawry of war as does the Kellogg draft treaty, the major differences being that (1) it is hoped that the latter may become universal and (2) the latter does not *bind* (it merely *permits*) any signatory to act collectively with other signatories against a violator of the treaty, as is the case with Great Britain and Italy in the Locarno pact. Both treaties, however, outlaw war "as an instrument of national policy." Some of the Scandinavian treaties outlaw war without reservation and contain no commitments to collective action against a violator. They go even further than the proposed Kellogg treaty because they bind the signatories to conciliation and arbitration of all controversies without any exceptions.

When the nations, including the United States, are prepared to delegitimize war and to use the various devices for the peaceable adjustment of disputes—diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration, judicial decision, international conferences and permanent international agencies of justice—armed force will not be needed, any more than it is required by the Supreme Court. The respective peoples of the world have continued to maintain heavy armaments primarily because they have been afraid not to do so. A psychology of peaceable settlement is now being created. Public opinion against war and in favor of peace is everywhere gaining in influence. Let us illustrate how public opinion would operate in a crisis.

Suppose the United States has entered into a multilateral outlawry treaty and has committed itself to the amicable adjustment of all disputes with other

nations. Then suppose that the United States violates this agreement and takes aggressive action against another country. In that event, how could the other nations restrain this country? Only by public opinion. Because of our size and strength the effort to coerce us with armaments would almost certainly result in a long and disastrous war. We are so nearly self-sufficing that economic pressure would not be effective. In our case armaments and economic measures would not be needed. Under the conditions specified if it could be clearly demonstrated that we had committed an international crime, there are sufficient honorable and high-minded citizens in this country to compel our government to observe its international obligations. Public opinion inside this country could be greatly reinforced by world-wide condemnation of our outrageous conduct. If, however, any effort were made to use armaments against us, the effect would be to unite the country behind our government, whether it was right or wrong. Armaments paralyze public opinion. When people cease to rely upon armed force, they strengthen the power of public opinion in their own countries and abroad.

If a belligerent government knew in advance that it would be subjected to a diplomatic boycott in the event of a gross breach of its international obligations, such knowledge would act as a deterrent. A diplomatic boycott produces disastrous results. Trade and commerce are seriously affected. Normal intercourse is dislocated. In numerous ways the citizens of the boycotted country are penalized. Moreover, a diplomatic boycott does not have to be universal to be effective. For example, if Italy were ostracized diplomatically by Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States, the consequences would be very serious for the citizens of that land.

The diplomatic boycott could also be supplemented in extreme cases by financial and economic pressure. Only two or three nations in the world can long survive economic isolation. Certain economic measures are open to the same ethical objection as apply to war. An economic blockade may develop into the worst kind of war. A complete and universal economic boycott would also be as deadly as war. But certain types of financial and economic measures—the refusal to make loans, the boycott of specified exports and imports, etc.—could be adopted without causing starvation or loss of life.

The difficulties of applying diplomatic and financial sanctions are admittedly very great. In all probability such processes would not be required, if the nations would outlaw war and commit themselves to the processes of peace. During the interim, while people are becoming accustomed to depending upon international agencies of justice, it may be necessary to reassure them by providing diplomatic and economic



sanctions to be used in extreme cases of international peril. For this reason it seems to me that, while the armed guarantees of Locarno are dangerous, it is better to have the Locarno treaties even with these provisions than not to have had these treaties at all.

**W**HAT should be the attitude of a pacifist toward the League of Nations? Should he uphold the League as long as the Covenant authorizes the use of armed sanctions? Should an American pacifist advocate the entrance of the United States into the League? My own position is this: since I am not an anarchist, and since, therefore, I believe in government, I am prepared loyally to support the government of this country. This does not mean that I approve of all its practices and institutions or pledge unqualified obedience to any administration that may happen to be in power. As a pacifist I am naturally opposed to the use of the army and navy against other peoples and certainly will not participate directly in any war, certain forms of indirect participation being quite unavoidable. I believe that I can prove my loyalty to the people and ideals of my country more effectively in

other ways than by going to war. By the same line of reasoning, I am an ardent believer in the League of Nations as a necessary international agency, although I am utterly opposed to several of its provisions, including the use of armed sanctions. In my opinion the United States could render a greater contribution to world peace by immediately entering the League, with the understanding that it is not being committed to the use of armed sanctions, than by staying on the outside.

Peaceable sanctions will not prove to be effective unless the nations can learn patience. Immediate results are not always possible. The ultimatum method will continue to have disastrous results. The Supreme Court of the United States could not have survived and gained steadily in prestige and influence unless it had been willing to be insulted and to have its decisions flaunted, rather than to attempt armed coercion of states. International agencies will not always be able to secure immediate or entirely satisfactory results. The peoples of the world must learn to run risks on behalf of peace, as well as in war, and to take the consequences of relying upon the processes of peace, as well as to bear the burdens of waging war.

## Happiness Is What We're For!

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

**I** USED to enjoy going to church very much, when I was young. But even then, in my youth so full of sobriety and Matthew Arnold, I often wondered why joy and delight entered into the religious vocabulary so seldom and in such a hushed and chastened tone. "The Christian ought of all people to be the cheerfulness," I used to hear people say; and mention would be made in sermons of invalids whose bright smiles and nobly objective interests in life were "an inspiration" to everybody who went to see them. But on some winter morning in Vermont when divine health and a sort of passionate serenity flooded all through a young creature, the difference was very obvious between the acquired habit of cheerfulness and the bright startle of happiness.

Though the prophets had foretold that Jesus would be a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, and though the painters had usually so portrayed him, I was aware of the occasional attempts made by preachers and in religious periodicals to describe him as a lover of simple human happiness and a partaker of it. In this connection I sometimes heard the claim that Jesus had a strong sense of humor—as if a sense of humor, far from always indicating a state of happiness, were not very often the accompaniment of a sor-

rowfully ironic mood, intensely aware of disillusion! However, the over-emphasis commonly laid upon the sufferings and death of Jesus were partly lifted off by these sermons and articles, and the Christian then seemed to be authorized, on the whole, to drink in the sunshine of life with comparative freedom and gayety. But then the effect of religious biographies very often undid all this. Bunyan and Fox and St. Catherine of Siena and most other saints and heroes of the faith had reproached themselves for the merry moods they had once thoughtlessly indulged in; and they seldom reached the overwhelming bliss of mystic expansion until they had been through prolonged states of melancholy.

I was not really so much bothered by this as I may be implying. When life is bright and sweet, it bathes the spirit with its joy, and nothing in the mood and manner of religion can really spoil it, though these may cause us to assume a somewhat hypocritical soberness of demeanor. But I was aware of a much more troublesome incompatibility between the deep joy of the Christian life and the humanly joyous life of normal man. Poverty, sickness and other preventable calamities were, I knew, perpetually grieving and wounding our brothers all around us; and if we spent our time



and money enjoying our own lives, I saw that we were unmistakably refusing the time and money that would have comforted the little children of the poor, and their sick mothers and fathers. Here was a fearful difficulty indeed. It put a furrow between the brows of those who endeavored to "think it out."

The only people who could enjoy life wholeheartedly, I thought, must be too thick and tough to imagine what life was like to the other fellow; they must be the sort of people who said that the poor were accustomed to crowding and heat and flies and everlastingly working under other people's directions, and so didn't mind all these things as much "as you or I would." Or else they must be the kind who said that they believed life was "really happier, after all," for those who had "work to do, every day," than for "you and me, with all our advantages."

I observed these people too, and others who never troubled their heads at all to argue it out, and not among any of them did I see the simple-hearted acceptance of happiness just as it came. They, like the courageous invalid, were cheerful on purpose; they were trying, too, to forget themselves, and be objective; they showed, all of them, rather a determination to enjoy life than enjoyment itself. The less they succeeded, the more they pursued what was frivolous and what they believed to be shocking to their spiritual betters. At dull parties, where there was no spirit of gayety, I have heard it suggested that we should do "something really devilish," and this was always a prelude to the most hypocritical pretense of enjoyment. Because, if anyone appeared openly bored or sober, he would be accused of being too righteous to join in the would-be fun—"Oh, look! we're shocking So-and-So."

Fortunate it is that in the midst of ineffectual thinking about these things, one is captured and carried off by life itself, to the sound of trumpets, on some actual adventure. And first of all, I discovered, as everyone discovers, the Franciscan paradox. Give up some of the possessions and privileges and attitudes you've huddled up around yourself, in order to make it happy—give them up quite honestly believing that you are giving up some of the raw material of your dear self's happiness, in order to give somebody else's dear self a little more of it; and you find you are receiving, not foregoing. You have given yourself a freedom which it loves, an open space in which it can really sport and play. What you have taken away is a grating from its window, a shackle from its feet. And yet such is habit, and the strength of our simian acquisitiveness, that when the next occasion arises, though it be tomorrow, we always find the ugly old mask replaced on the fair face of Lady Poverty, and sigh under the superstition that we cannot befriend our neighbor at all expensively without desolating ourselves. Nevertheless we

mean to do it; we will wed the loathly lady of self-denial: and suddenly the little self again, startling with delight, runs out to play with her.

If one stops to think, he may in the midst of this adventure too become bewildered again. For if these possessions are gratings and shackles to our self, perhaps they are doubtful presents to furnish another with! Are we caging the souls of our neighbors and comrades when we share with them our money and goods and time and pride? What a calamity if we are unloading upon the first comer all the belongings we can, and forcing him to be our spiritual junk merchant! But once more when one stops intellectual arguing about joy, and goes where it is and plucks it, such questions answer themselves. Whoever has really found a shackle removed, it can only be because loving-kindness has turned its patent key in the rusty padlock. The goods that were shackles to us when we clutched and treasured them become objects of use and beauty to our neighbor when we give them to him in friendliness. He also sees in the Franciscan life what we find in it ourselves: comradeship, freedom, healthy faith in life and in man, the expansion in all directions of what was once timid and cramped; and these things affect all beholders alike, and lift up all hearts, so that the king of glory can come in.

Friends and relations of those who indulge themselves in a Franciscan frolic now and then sometimes become anxious, and ask with the best of logic, "But he will end by giving *everything* away! and who will take care of *him*?" and the use of such questions is to keep the sportive instincts of generosity from sinking into a pose, and into the habit of indulgence in being thanked. Dangers dwell not in generosity, but in the sentimentality that jackalls along behind every noble experience of life, hoping to store it up and feast on it, taking on what Randolph Bourne called "moral fat."

"How mingled, mingled, Oh how mingled, life!"

**B**UT this is a great joy, the Franciscan. And next to it, and very much like it, is the kind of joy which arises without any obvious reason, and constitutes the most inscrutable element of life, more mysterious than death or even birth. By apparent accident we tune in, and the music of the spheres is suddenly heard. I cannot help thinking that this is a sort of accidental mysticism. I conclude this was what Wordsworth had in mind when he planted such a thrill between the lines

"The moon doth with delight  
Look round her when the heavens are bare;  
Waters on a starry night  
Are Beautiful and fair."

Whoever reads that without memories of incredible and apparently uncaused joys of his own, when he has



with delight looked round him, perhaps when both heaven and earth were bare of any material reason for his bliss? This and hundreds more of such passages in poetry and music,—corners of pictures and cathedrals,—seem to have some sort of contact with fourth-dimensional existence, or something like that, from whence a spray of some prodigal delight comes showering and sparkling over. Nobody has ever worked out a technique for inducing these moods. One can keep in physical health, as a preliminary move toward them. The important thing is, when they come, to follow where they draw,—

"And each man murmured, 'Oh, my queen,  
I follow till I make you mine.'"

Love is, of course, the supremely unaccountable joy. I mean the love between man and woman, and to some degree its virgin sister, friendship. The family loves and the noble love which grows up in a man toward the cause or faith he serves are not of unknown origin. And even in the case of love and friendship, though in their beginnings they are so often conferred by a stroke, by an unguessed electric contact, flashing light and sounding music all through a pair of beings, there is not, I believe, any mystery about the way to keep them living and fresh. No; that, I think, is an open secret. Unhug your love, if you mean to keep it as sweet as in the divine beginning. Fling out, with hopeful recklessness, all that is possessive in it. You cannot do this if it is for the sake of preserving your joy that you want to do it! Yet how not to be so motivated? for surely at bottom all that a man ever does is done out of hunger for a more obvious, or a more recondite joy!

Yes, but there is in man a sense of the lives of others; and his hunger for joy involves a hunger to spread it, to make it the ruling passion of everybody else as well. And luckily in the midst of his thinking, usually some strenuous emergency comes knocking, and demands the use of a man's love, and he lays down his train of thought and out of pity and good will toward man and beast, gives the loan of it and of all that he has of bewildered feeling and half-baked reason, just as it stands, and for what it is worth; and in a little while it comes back as rosy and fresh from use as it was in danger of becoming stagnant from possession and hoarding before. So that he who, having seen how integrated joy becomes by being scattered, thinks any longer about the philosophy of it usually decides that life generously entered into takes the best of care of man's love and his joy.

THIS is, I submit, a very different thing from the harsh doctrine that happiness is "not what we were put here for." I firmly believe that it is just what we were put here for. Anybody who thinks otherwise, I think will have a hard time trying to regenerate his own heart, which he will find deceitful and desperately

wicked, indeed. What is natural to the heart is to be happy itself and wish everybody so. In my observation nobody ever really continues to live at all except for the sake of something sweet in his experience, which in all his thoughts and activities forms the hub, and supports the entire wheel of his fortune. When this precious cylinder becomes in any manner plated over, as it were with a sense of security, a man can be confidently called happy, and he will weather the revolutions of fortune with gallantry and humaneness, for within himself he is saying,

"Oh, hit or miss, how little 'tis!  
My lady is not there."

I know that a most respectable opinion regards pain and loss as the supreme experiences of life. "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, but adversity of the New."

"Who never, through the midnight hours,  
Weeping has sate upon his bed,  
He knows not you, ye heavenly powers!"

Those to whom nature has remained kind, and who have not been deprived of the lovely common joys of life, are often said to have had but an inferior kind of spiritual experience. This seems to me a thoughtless and hidebound way of perceiving the fluid character of life and the delicate indestructibility of joy. It would seem much closer to the paradoxical inwardness of the facts to say that in pain and loss themselves the surprising presence of joy is always recognized, but by the dulled mentality of those who have endured long vigil, it is called an aspect of pain. Pain comes, let me say, as a cuckoo into the nest of joy; but there its nature is changed, and when its eggs hatch, they are all young joys.

We expected to feel parted, but something which we cannot recognize by any reasoning conforming exactly to previous ideas seems holding us, even drawing us, together; we expected to have to live upon memories; but the future remains still and forever ahead, and something in us starts forward at "the murmur of the challenge in the dark."

Spinoza's definition of pleasure is that it consists of a crescendo movement of the spirit, and is essentially an upward becoming; and pain he defines as a diminuendo, or reduction, of life. Profoundly wise and penetrating as this is, I cannot think it covers all the facts about joy. There are times when the pure fullness of joy befalls one. Moments come, and even whole days, when everything becomes subdued to joy, and is turned into an element of its sweetness. There is at these times a sense of brimmingness, a tranquil ecstasy. Such moments are devoid of hope because they have fulfilled hope. Their only longing is to continue thus forever; but often they are not conscious even of an instinct for their own prolonging. At their prime, the moments



of full joy are sensible of a complete recklessness toward death and pain. "I have lived! and so," says Caponsacchi "(yet one more kiss!) can die."

This sense of complete fulfilment is the natural opposite of satiety. Its fulness resides in its quality, and is not mensurable in terms of quantity and duration. It is like the glimpse of heaven which Mahommed had, which lasted only while water was being tossed out of a pitcher, yet suffused itself backward and forward over all time. Once having experienced this, no person, I think, could ever be entirely unhappy. And I wonder whether most persons, did they but cultivate expansiveness, and not the instincts of privacy, might not share with each other more than one or two such hours. "His life from without," said Stevenson, "may seem but a rude mound of mud; but there will be some golden chamber at the heart of it, in which he dwells delighted."

I HAVE often had occasion to think of these matters when I have been attending educational conferences. Educators find a perpetual need to settle with themselves what, with all their planning, they mean to confer upon the child they want to teach. I hear it variously said that the aim in education is self-control—is independent thinking—is the habit of scientific observation—is growth, is preparation for citizenship, is social consciousness. These all seem to me peripheral evidences of a successful education, rather than the bull's eye itself. This I take to be happiness, the universal end of man. Happiness, the spread and propagation of happiness, are noble and practical ends enough for anybody. Youth and age have but one objective, and by the same token there need be no such mighty differences between juvenile and adult education as are assumed. Is the student's eye—at five or thirty-five—shining? Then his education is serving him deeply and well. Montaigne was, in my opinion, a great educational philosopher; for he approved of Speusippus, who surrounded his schoolhouse with images of Flora and the Graces.

I would like, and I mean, sometime to prophesy what sort of religion is preparing, for the children of those who are children now to be brought up by. I have long felt a strong concern to witness for the probability and the desirability of some form of Christian hedonism. Those who are at present young, and all of us in some degree, know that a far franker hedonism is now the fashion than has been known before a long time. The principal congratulations, and the principal forebodings of the elders are directed to the youngsters' unrestrained pursuit of joy. We are receiving from our children a sort of friendly disrespect for our age, our habits and our experience; with disconcerting but oh! how precious frankness they tell us the truth about themselves, all barefoot and berry-

stained as they find it. And this truth is that they are determined to spend their lives for what, to the best of their knowledge, they want, regardless of what we want them to try to want. They are thus already committed to hedonism, and recognize it themselves as their religion; and they openly perform the rites of their religion in public and private.

Thus far they have come on the road to the form of Christianity which I call Christian hedonism. Truthful and energetic, they are not in practice any less gentle and generous with the small and forlorn whom they meet than their parents were when they were young, though their parents (and all of us of that vintage) talked in a far more noble way about being gentle and generous. There is in any rising generation a good deal of essential generosity, and some real gentleness of spirit; and the people who are at this moment young people seem to me rather promising material for a particularly enlightened, and eventually very gracious, form of religious life; for of such was Francis of Assisi.

"Age, lift thy battered lamp; nor claim nor beg  
Honors from those about thee. Light the young!"

We have to raise our lamp to show them the splendid difference between the bright countenance of joy, and the dull complexion of the anodyne, amusement. They have erected an altar to the unknown God. We must declare unto them whom we believe it is that they (sometimes so *very* ignorantly!) worship. Perhaps we shall have to begin by making certain that we are willing to let them find the joy that is their Divinity. Because, if we know anything about joy, we know that it is not reached by long deliberation, but by courageous action; and we are absurdly timid for our young. There are among us insidious preferences for respectability, and that wicked caution toward life, that blasphemous suspiciousness toward love and man, which the New Testament so bitterly satirizes.

"So long as thou doest well unto thyself, men will speak good of thee."

Let us ask ourselves passionately and often, O fellow elders, whether we want men to speak well of our cautious, selfish, acquisitive, dreary young people, or whether we want them to be really, riskily, generous and joyous?

But if we choose for them the incurably religious form in which alone their natural hedonism can be fulfilled, we shall find already among them individual and social sprouts of that immortal life of joy. They love the beauty and strength of the body; they are well disposed to care about their racial trust, and to look with care and honor toward the children yet to be. They are replacing the somewhat patronizing manners of chivalry, and the cultivated dependence that played up to these, with something more comradely, and some-



thing more serviceable. And one most gallant custom has obtained a certain small vogue among them, a most exhilarating thing to a Christian hedonist to behold; I mean the disposition of some of them to taste the hard and dangerous lives of the workers, when their own lives have been cast in pleasanter—and tamer—places. Summer after summer, a thin line of college boys and girls streams out buoyantly into the mines and the forests and the shipping of the world, and into the factories and farms—amateur judges of the manual life. Perhaps half their motive is venturesomeness and curiosity, perhaps half even of what remains is just that frosty tingle in the blood of which Professor James spoke in his "Varieties of Religious Experience"—the revulsion of bold health against living softly and securely. But at all events it is a movement toward human solidarity. It is a literal and a practical form of brothering one's neighbor, a way of brothering him that, unlike charity, is respectfully undertaken, and

increases mutual respect. It goes several steps at once in the direction of appreciating the powers and skills of the unmoneyed classes; and also of appreciating the undesirable aspects of working in regiments under the orders of foremen and managers.

Can it be that these young persons, so volubly disrespectful about our ideals, have been showing us all this time how to serve these very ideals better? Perhaps we are entitled to a few sly, if tender, smiles in our sleeves as we observe our children. What this group of them are doing is really singularly like some of the wandering orders in the twelfth century, such as the Patari and Poor Men of Lyons and Lombardy, who also shared the manual working life on terms of fraternal equality. It wouldn't be outside the possibilities if among the post-war youths and maidens another tidal wave should swell up out of the sea of human nature, and carry the House of Have over to the House of Want.

## The Pacifist Attitude to Crime

ROGER N. BALDWIN

WHAT should be the attitude of pacifists to the question of prosecuting persons who commit crimes? What should be their attitude to taking part as jurymen in criminal prosecutions? What efforts can they make for the reform of the system of dealing with offenders?

These issues are raised time and again in the lives of those of us with a pacifist outlook. We are faced now and then with the dilemma of either remaining loyal to the principle of love and good will and refusing to be parties to punishment, or turning over offenders to the rigors of an archaic system of justice based on vengeance. The fact that the alternatives are so far apart, that so few ways are open to rational and friendly treatment of offenders, puts us in the position of choosing one extreme or the other.

What shall we do with the burglar caught in our home, with the youth forging our name to checks, with those guilty of offenses against our property or persons? The temptation is always to let the law take its course and to wash our hands of responsibility. But we must be troubled with the consciousness that the law's course inevitably wrecks the lives and characters (such as they are) of its victims. On the other hand, if we turn aside from the law and refuse to prosecute we expose others to the depredations of men without the capacity to live social lives.

In dealing with the personal problems presented by offenses committed against us, not much help can be

given by our present system. The best one can do with an offender turned over to the law is to see him through in as friendly a fashion as possible. I know of a number of cases of young men caught stealing, whose victims prayerfully followed them through courts and prisons with friendly aid and counsel, and got them jobs on their release. In some of the cases that friendship turned the trick and set them on the road to social living. In other cases of youths twisted by the life of the streets and of reform schools cure was hopeless. To abandon an offender for whom one has a responsibility is to hand him over with certainty to the degradation of our courts and prisons. I venture to say that no man sentenced to an American prison or jail today, even the best of them, comes out a better man for his prison experience. Those who do go straight do so because of some strong personal influence, usually from outside prison. Only rarely do prison friendships bring about that new direction of habits and thinking which sets a man on the straight road to social living.

It is the force of good-will and friendship which is of course the cement of social life everywhere. It is just as true applied to offenders as it is to the rest of us. It is the basis of Kropotkin's argument for dealing with every criminal only by the social control of friends and neighbors. The world is far from any such possibility. But every effort for reducing crime must lie in the direction of decreasing force. Probation, juvenile courts, aid to prisoners upon release, have already



accomplished something in that direction, but they are more than offset by the unthinking demands of press, business men, insurance companies, police, and the courts for greater severity to criminals. So difficult is it to wean the public from its ancient prejudices in favor of punishment—the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—that pacifists can put in their best licks in pushing at every possible point measures against compulsion. That case rests on practical grounds. It rests on ethical grounds. In personal and public relations friendship and good-will stand the test of results just as surely as compulsion and violence always fail.

Behind this method of treating offenders lie, of course, the causes which produce them. Our whole social system, based upon inequality and privilege, is largely responsible for the commonest crimes, those against property. Only as that social system is revolutionized will it be possible to strike deep at the major causes of crime. One cannot expect the abolition of crime from a pacifist treatment of offenders alone. Only as a revolutionary outlook upon the cure of its causes is united with the pacifist method can we have well-grounded faith in a world without violence.

IN the United States, despite all the agitation for reform of the system of justice, the reformers have made but little real progress. Every reform has been in the direction of decreased force and increased freedom and responsibility for offenders. Chief among them are juvenile courts (a peculiarly American contribution), probation for both children and adults, psychiatric examinations, and organized work to rehabilitate prisoners on release. Inside prisons the significant work of Thomas Mott Osborne toward prison democracy stands out as the chief hope of overcoming the brutalizing effects of prison; but it unhappily has gained no headway against the domination of prison authorities.

The whole reform program in the United States has been set back since the war by the demands of press and business for increased severity against the growing crime rate. The archaic system of criminal justice stands essentially unchanged, with no serious effort to make good citizens out of offenders.

Pacifists can only follow the lead of the reformers—who share their principle in action whatever their philosophy—more probation, less resort to prison, abolition of capital punishment, more self-government by prisoners, reinstatement of ex-prisoners in normal life against the eternal police persecution.

But without a sweeping reorganization of the whole system of criminal justice these petty reforms mean little. And no such sweeping reorganization is possible without a change in the public attitude to wrongdoers.

Various radical groups are advocating drastic changes in the existing penal systems. The anarchist school of thought, for example, demands the abolition of all violence and compulsion in human relations, as well as the abolition of prisons and of punishment—before or after revolution. Kropotkin, in an essay on prisons written after he had himself served a long term in France for a political offense, says as the summary of his wisdom:

The first duty of the revolution will be to abolish prisons—those monuments of human hypocrisy and cowardice. Anti-social acts need not be feared in a society of equals, in the midst of a free people, all of whom have acquired a healthy education and the habit of mutually aiding one another. The greater number of these acts will no longer have any *raison d'être*. The others will be nipped in the bud.

As for those individuals with evil tendencies whom existing society will pass on to us after the revolution, it will be our task to prevent their exercising these tendencies. This is already accomplished quite efficiently by the solidarity of all the members of the community against such aggressors. If we do not succeed in all cases, the only practical corrective still will be fraternal treatment and moral support.

This is not Utopia. It is already done by isolated individuals and it will become the general practice. And such means will be far more powerful to protect society from anti-social acts than the existing system of punishment, which is an ever-fertile source of new crimes.

The Bolsheviks, despite a government even stronger than the Tsar's, in their whole approach to the problem of dealing with offenders minimize the law's violence. The theory of the new penology of Soviet Russia rests upon the idea that all offenses are the product of bad social conditions or diseased minds and can be cured by education and a just organization of society.

I was talking last year to the head of the police department of the whole republic of the Ukraine, a man with immense responsibilities. He is not a pacifist; he is a Bolshevik. When I asked him what he proposed to do about meeting the growing crime rate in the Ukraine, he answered:

One thing we will not do is to enlarge the police force. We don't believe that the police can reduce crime. We believe in education and socialism. Some day through them we will abolish the police.

This was the first time I ever heard a police chief who did not want a bigger force. But that is the official attitude of the Soviet regime—no more police, no more prisons. Whatever new places of confinement are necessary are to be farm colonies where men can learn on the soil to adjust themselves to their fellows in comparative freedom. Throughout the whole Soviet system of dealing with offenders runs the effort to teach men trades—with wages in prison—to give them increasing responsibilities, and to fit them for liberty by greater freedom as their prison term progresses. All well-behaved prisoners are allowed two weeks' vaca-



ion a year with pay. All well-behaved peasant prisoners are given three months off without pay to harvest their crops. No sentence runs beyond ten years, and that time is cut by one-third or more through work and good conduct. This is true even for first-degree murder. The death penalty has been abolished throughout the whole Soviet Union for all crimes except armed robbery and political offenses—armed robbery being excepted because of its growth, particularly in districts uprooted by civil war.

The whole spirit of the Soviet penal codes is just what pacifists desire. Even the phraseology has been changed to indicate that punishment is no longer the object of the law. Indeed the word punishment has been taken out of the criminal code. All sentences are 'measures of social defense.' While that does not change, in fact, the courts' penalties, it indicates an attitude to the offender on which the effort toward his reform is based.

I speak of the example of Soviet Russia because it is the nearest approach in fact to the treatment of one's fellow human beings by the law in the spirit in which a pacifist would conceive that treatment. Russian prisons are not by any means ideal. I visited about a dozen of them, and, while physical conditions are in many places wretched, their new purpose is apparent in the attitude of both prisoners and keepers.

Even in the matter of handling delinquent children Russia has gone beyond the United States with its boasted juvenile courts. Child offenders under fourteen are not sent to court at all, but are handled by a commission under the local school boards, composed of a teacher, a physician, and a layman. No child between fourteen and sixteen can be taken to court unless the commission certifies him as hopeless from an educational and medical standpoint. Of course, in Russia, as elsewhere, institutions for the mentally defective and insane exist, and definitely pathological cases are sent to them, some for permanent custody.

But imagine the furor that would be caused in the United States if we proposed to do here now, in these days of Baumes laws, what Soviet Russia has already done—namely, to abolish capital punishment except for one crime, to cut all prison sentences to a maximum of ten years, even for murder, and to let prisoners loose in the community for vacations during their terms of imprisonment. And yet I venture to say that just such right-about-face methods would go far toward reducing our crime rate.

The pacifist attitude in the field of the reform of the treatment of crime must take cognizance of what is being done in Soviet Russia, despite the fact that it is a government exercising in the political field probably the severest compulsions of any government in the world.

## Intrusion

I LEFT my pots and kettles,  
My needles and my pins,  
I ran across the pastures  
To where the road begins;  
A wood road, crooked,  
A narrow road and rough,  
A road the forest will take back,  
Give it time enough.

I had to climb the pasture bars  
And cross a little stream  
Where stones are edged with water cress  
And silver minnows gleam  
Perfect as leviathan,  
Needle long and slender,  
And Oh, the brown water was cool,  
The water cress was tender!

I went on, nibbling water cress,  
And in a nook the ferns hid  
I parted drooping fronds and there  
I found a showy orchid.  
Dark pine trees met overhead,  
I heard a chipmunk scolding,  
A young birch stood proud and still,  
Its first nest holding.

I stood beside a bubbling spring  
With wet moss all around it,  
And in the moss footprints that showed  
A red fox had found it.  
I saw a foolish spider there  
Spinning very carefully  
Across a hole a woodpecker  
Had drilled in a wild apple tree.

Here was a world of life and death,  
Of love and grief and danger;  
A world of nest and cave and web,  
And I, a forest stranger,  
Was watched by many curious eyes,  
Glad to see me going  
Back again to towns and men  
And ways beyond their knowing.

No living thing asked me to stay  
As I turned back toward home again.  
To spider, owl and thirsty fox  
I am forever alien.  
Yet I go back to look for them,  
The little wood road haunts me.  
I climb the bars and cross the stream  
And go where no one wants me!

LOUISE DRISCOLL



# Clippings

## The Military Mind

I speak plainly because the time has come for the utmost plainness in speaking. Madam Chairman, it was never the business of the Church to prevent war.—*Lt. Colonel Bullock*, before the Government Club of New York, address published by the *Military Intelligence Association of Chicago*.

## The Naval Mind

The men of the Marine Corps walk in the way first laid out by Christ. They are two-fisted fighting men, as He was. They have courage, as He had. They serve their fellow men, as He did.—*Lt. Commander M. M. Witherspoon*, quoted by the *New York Telegram*, March 26, 1928.

## Hot-dog Stands Will Stretch

It must be obvious to everyone that Uncle Sam is now firmly in the saddle south of the Rio Grande, and that the whole region down to the Canal Zone is his forevermore. . . . In a short time Sloppy Joe will have branch bars all over the capital, and the hot-dog stands will stretch from Tia Juana to the Guatemalan border. By that time, indeed, there will be no border, for Guatemala, like Nicaragua and the rest, will be a fief of Rotary. . . .

Nevertheless, it will cost some Marines. Trudging through the swamps, climbing the mountains, swimming the rivers, some of them will be knocked off by "bandits." But what are Marines hired for if it is not to be knocked off by "bandits"?—*H. L. Mendenken*, *The American Mercury*, April, 1928.

## Strange and Mighty and Terrible

Women, it is generally admitted, talked suffrage across. Now women in Washington are talking peace. Shrug your shoulders, if you will. But it's a strange and mighty and terrible force—women's talk.—*Marguerite Mooers Marshall*, *New York Evening World*, Jan. 16, 1928.

## The Army of Espionage

The Scripps-Howard newspapers revealed that the federal government now has 4,500 men and women engaged in undercover work of some sort.—*New York Telegram*, December 14th, 1928.

## The Banker Dominates

There has been no more impressive phenomenon during the past twenty-five years than the growth of banking, but more portentous has been the growth of bank power. The bank is now the symbol of the unity of the money power, and the banker is by way of becoming the authentic leader in the social order. Survey any of the questions of the hour,—the tariff, the farmer, the trusts, the consumer, our increasing tax burdens, our costly system of distribution, our problems of labor, of national defense, of internal improvements, of foreign relations,—and note how in all of them the economic and financial and political are interwoven.—*Governor Albert C. Ritchie*, *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1928.

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Clippings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

## The New Peasantry

The farmer is on the way to peasantry. Is there a desire to deflect his course? Do the powerful in the United States wish to deflect it? I doubt it. . . . There is little serious thought in the capital. The President glibly vetoes farm bills without offering better ones. . . . Two million farmer folk abandoned their lands between 1920 and 1926. No farm problem? The present vast industrial privilege is the result of a hundred years of business men in politics. The railway leaders have been in politics since 1850, and they operate now under the protecting law of 1920. There has never been a time when bankers were not in politics, and the great army of financial men are now protected and guided to steady and increasing profits by positive law. Even the labor organizations are shielded by State and national law.—*William E. Dodd*, *The Century Magazine*, May, 1928.

## More in Need

In this twentieth century the five continents and all their peoples are more closely connected than the thirteen States of America were in the eighteenth century. They are more in need of one government and law than the Mediterranean peoples in the time of Caesar.—*The Round Table*, December, 1927.

## The Alternative to Exclusive Religion

The experience of defending a position assumed in the past stimulates the negative rather than the positive elements of the human soul. The alternative to the doctrine of exclusive Revelation is a fellowship of liberal spirits voluntarily pledging their loyalty to the God of all mankind. Impossible as a world religion may appear under present conditions, the very act of seeking and furthering mutual coöperation and understanding stimulates the heroic, the self-sacrificing qualities of men. If the exclusive religions breed the negative virtues, and the hope of brotherhood produces the positive virtues, this may be the method by which "evolution" solves the present apparent impasse.—*World Unity Magazine*, February, 1928.

## A Note for the Hidebound

South of the Arctic Circle, furs are, strictly speaking, never necessary. The very trappers and lumberjacks of the Canadian forests do not themselves wear furs—they wear warm woolens, with sometimes a sheepskin jacket. In the temperate climate of almost all of the United States, we well know that furs are not necessary, as is evidenced by the fact that our outdoor workmen of all kinds—men in the building and other trades, those engaged in street- and track-repair work, as well as truck drivers, mail carriers, traffic policemen, and others constantly exposed to the weather—never think of such a thing as wearing furs. It is left for our protected and well-to-do women, living in furnace-heated houses, to wear fur coats when in wintertime they venture forth in heated cars to shop in heated stores.—*Lucy Furman* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1928.



# Peasants and Soldiers in Hunan

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

**N**OW that the social revolution is over, at least for the present, in the central provinces of China, and soldiers under various generals are busy "restoring order" by the process of hunting down and slaying peasant leaders and communists; now that foreigners, both businessmen and missionaries, are considering a return, I went down to Hunan to see, as far as I could, what had actually happened.

In Hankow the Nationalist Government had been for some weeks already apologizing for the "immature actions" of the Peasants' Unions and Labor Unions, and of late had authorized their liquidation, "while awaiting the training of leaders." Foreign businessmen, and, in a milder way, foreign missionaries, were hailing the military forces as their protectors, putting down the upheaval of the masses. With this background, and knowing the great backwardness and past sufferings of the Chinese peasantry, I expected to find in Hunan evidences of terrible past atrocities.

I found, on the other hand, that the soldiers "restoring order" seem to have killed more people and looted more property than the revolutionary peasants. I make this statement with hesitation; for I visited only four towns and one village. My sources of information were the present suppressers or the past victims of the Unions; I did not talk, as far as I knew, to a single union member or leader, for none were any more to be discovered; they are dead or in flight. The average missionary, in making his generalizations, would speak of the Unions as lawless, and would assume that they had been worse than the soldiers; and yet, when, point by point, I got the details of that same missionary's story, in practically each case I found the contrary.

**I** SUBMIT, therefore, a brief account of the details, as I found them in Hunan. The social background of these events is briefly told. Beginning last November and December, revolutionary students poured en masse into the vilages, organizing Peasants and Workers Unions. The refusal of the mission schools to take part in this movement led to their disruption and closure. At the same time, a school for leaders in Changsha turned out rapidly organizers who welded the local Peasant Unions into District and Regional Unions, till by May, when they were at last suppressed, they were said to have ten million members in this single province.

The forces of various Hunan generals, alleging, as the peasants also did, loyalty to the Nationalist Gov-

ernment of Hankow, executed a coup d'état in Changsha, the capital, on the night of May 21, expelling the peasants and labor unions by fighting with considerable casualties, and thereafter starting a clean-up of the province, in which they have now the warrant of Hankow government. There is today no labor, peasants' or woman's union, or any branch of the Kuomintang Party, or any middle school or higher school existing in Hunan. The soldiers are going from village to village and searching every house, making lists of all inmates, requiring assurances that none of them were "reds," and then demanding guarantors in the shape of two "well-known families," by which are doubtless meant gentry. They have been at this for two months, and expect it to take another month to clean up the province, if "no internal troubles arise."

So much for the background. Now for details, step by step, as I gained them.

I first met, on the Japanese steamer going upriver to Changsha, members of the Evangelical Mission, returning to inspect damages. In February after the foreigners left, they told me, members of the Sixth Army occupied their boys' school buildings in Changsha, disobeyed both the orders of the Foreign Office and the provincial general to vacate, saying: "These folks can give us no orders; our general is in Nanking." (Chen Chien was their general.) When we reached Changsha soldiers were still in occupation. "They used pews for firewood," said these Evangelical missionaries. "Everything that could be taken away was taken."

Over against this were the excesses of the Unions: 1) a collective agreement in October with the Servants' Union, effected without a strike, granting \$1.50 (gold) increase in wages per month but waiving all other demands; 2) demands by the Teachers' Union which led to "our announcement that we would close the school at the end of the term, a statement that left them so flabbergasted that they haven't caught their breath yet"; 3) requests by alumni and later by the county government to allow them to open and run the school closed by the missionaries, and later, after the foreigners went, the opening of this school without permission by the local government, whose own school had been much damaged by flood; 4) requests by every variety of union "to use our buildings for meetings, which, of course, we refused, but we hear they took them for such purposes after we left." Such were the excesses of the Unions toward the Evangelicals.



WHEN I arrived in Changsha and went to the Swedish Mission, I learned there of a most unusual "riot," by parties unknown, but with apparently some union leaders in the crowd, which had overflowed the entire house, "apparently looking for someone," with the younger element shouting: "Kill, kill," yet which had in the end retired, shepherded out of the way by older, more sensible Chinese, "without having looted a single thing." This last is the most astounding part of the episode, which was sufficiently terrifying while it lasted. A Chinese normal school teacher of this mission, relating her experiences in a city some distance away, said that the heads of the Peasants' Union near her family were "connected with the church and men of good reputation"; that the Women's Union had enrolled in its membership "at least one-quarter of the girls from our normal school," and had at first tried to start a trade school in sewing, cooking, weaving; and later gone into the streets to urge women to bob their hair. "Once, for three or four days, the Peasants' Union had pickets at our city gates which bobbed the hair of every woman passing, but the magistrates told them this was not the Revolution, and they stopped." She said also that there was much talk about freedom of marriage and divorce, and several cases of young folks marrying against the will of their parents, but she did not know any actual cases of divorce, though "the Peasants' Union decided that if the couple live together six months, after marriage arranged by parents and find they cannot like each other, they may get divorced." Here we see the definite assumption by the Peasants' Union of the right to pass regulations on marriage, which is not surprising, since marriage in China has never been "legal" through any governmental action, but only "sanctioned" by the family and neighborhood announcement and agreement.

This woman said that a certain number of rich men were executed by the peasants in her district, "I do not know how many, maybe ten, for we were the central point of a large district to which smaller unions sent cases for trial with an accuser before the Central Union Committee. These men who were killed were really wicked folks, the most hated in the district for their greedy exactions from the peasants or for their alliance with bandits and militarists. The Peasants' Union occupied two foreign schools in our town as headquarters after the foreigners left, and some furniture was destroyed; I do not know what the soldiers occupied for I left the place before they came, but I know they have killed many, and that peasants are frightened, moving from place to place." So much for a fair-sized district to the northwest of Changsha a hundred or more miles away.

I then began to run into the tales of Union atrocities, as told by those who are at present in charge of restoring order. "They cut all women's hair, killed

all chickens, cut all trees, even those not shading rice-fields." On inquiry I learned that in general the trees had been used as fuel, taken from the estates of the wealthy for the poor; this was admitted by the accusers. They charged many murders to the peasants, but only gave me two names, Yü, and Yeh, executed in Changsha, and mentioned to me many times by different people as the most striking atrocity of all, since Yeh was a great scholar. Later I was told that he "was great as a scholar but bad as a man," and that he was accused of having betrayed one of his revolutionary pupils to death in 1911. So far back did the retaliatory memory of the people reach. I do not doubt that there were other executions in Changsha; some people who kept no special track felt that there had been hundreds; one man, a good observer, thought perhaps twenty. The only actual names I could get, from the headquarters of the present authorities, were those of Yü and Yeh. They had been accused before a huge mass-meeting called for the purpose and voting for death.

The most persistent tale of atrocity was that of a planned massacre on May 30, "Memory Day," on which "all shop-clerks were to kill their employers, all peasants to kill their landlords, all workers to kill their bosses." According to another account "all persons over 30 years (some said over 25 years) were to be killed, and also all children, so that the youth of China could make a new generation." Any person who believes it is in the character of human beings to plan a systematic massacre like this is welcome to the story. The proof adduced was an apprentice who murmured in his sleep: "How shall we kill our master?"; a terrified servant girl of fifteen years who said when tried by the soldiers that her union duty was to kill her two mistresses; and an alleged confession, consisting of a whole book of plots signed by Yang, the labor leader of Siangtan, before his execution by beheading, disembowelling and burning in the public square. Later I went to Siangtan myself and was told by one of its most prominent merchants that Yang was a veteran member of the Kuomintang of years' standing, and had been tortured unmercifully before he signed the confession. The whole confession is not yet given to the public; merely allusions to it are made.

TURN now to Siangsiang, thirty miles further on, described by the German missionary there as "the real red center of Hunan, worse than Changsha," a statement which Changsha contests. It was one of the two or three places where foreigners were actually driven out of their homes by the Unions; elsewhere the Unions took over merely empty buildings, on the convenient theory that these buildings were given to the people of China and that they were now the "People's Power." But in Siangsiang they went in armed



force to the mission on Easter evening and told the missionaries to leave within three days. The details are too long to give here; they included 200 armed Peasant Guards, a leader who "was formerly principal of the Middle School, well known to us as a good, responsible man except for this Bolshevism," a thorough listing of all property taken over, "even to the doors and windows." They gave receipts for this to the missionaries, treating them as men "who have done useful work for our people and who are now giving their buildings to the People's Power." They even gave \$200 for travelling expenses to Shanghai, "since we know you are not a rich mission and have done much kindness to our people; but now the Kuomintang needs no foreign religion." They were ruthless—but very polite!

"As long as the Union Guards were in our building, there was no looting" say these missionaries. "They would have killed even their own people for looting. But when they left us in charge of regular soldiers from the yamen, the mob came in to loot and the soldiers helped them. Our first group hastened to the boat without telling anyone and the mob made it very hard for them; so the Union sent its guards for our last man, and he reached the boat without trouble. The Union also distinguished between private and public property; personal effects were our own to take with us, but mission property belonged to the public, which meant now the Unions."

When the soldiers came back and occupied the house, after the Unions fled, it was a different story. "They gave us two upstairs rooms, after we had orders from the Government and their commander; but they took our beds, leaving us to sleep on the floor; they took our kitchen, leaving us to buy food on the street. When they moved on, they stole everything they could carry, stoves, coal, doors, water-tanks. I stood in the door and stopped them, but others went out the rear. The soldiers injured us much more than the Unions, which took away no furniture but brought more in, and made their offices here."

These missionaries do not know how many the Unions executed, since they were away during the four weeks of Peasant Rule, but they think it may have been "as many as twenty, since Siangsiang was head of a big district and all cases of 'bad gentry' were sent here with their accusers." Since the soldiers have "restored order," there have been "at least thirty condemned people passing our doors and executed at the North Gate two minutes' walk away. Of these one-third were women. They are first investigated by the yamen, but this investigation is merely to know if they were active in the Union; if so they are killed. There have also been executions at the East Gate, but we do not live

there and do not know how many. Also at Shi Shrh Puh, seventeen miles from here, there was a fight, and the soldiers captured fourteen peasants and killed them immediately; and at Ku Shui, thirty miles away, they caught another fifteen fugitives, and killed these also."

So much for the relative destructiveness of peasants and soldiers in Siangsiang. I should also have mentioned the fact that the Peasants' Union organized in December a school for poor children, borrowing the desks from the China Inland Mission and returning them in June when the school closed down.

Thus ended my investigations. They have not covered all Hunan, but only some four towns, with reports from several others. They prove nothing statistically, but they are enough to make me wonder why these very people who have suffered, by their own statements, more from soldiery than from peasants accept the soldiers' excesses with a cynical shrug as something natural to China, but resent the rising of the peasants with bitterness.

The excesses of the soldiers were all of them individual excesses, stealings for personal gain by lawless men who left the structure of society unaltered, desiring merely to prey upon it as individuals. The excesses of the peasants were all of them assumptions of power, proclamations of new law and new authority to which even the proclaimers bowed. Taking over stations, not as private loot but as public buildings; confiscating hoarded rice and giving promises to repay at harvest, not to enrich themselves but to organize the "People's Food." They were ruthless enough in their defiance of all former law and order, but it was in the name of a new law and order. Even the men described to me as "regular devils" did not execute victims themselves but sent them with accusations to the District Unions. The lesser local unions accepted orders from the district; the district took orders from Changsha; and on several occasions at least they returned commandeered stations as soon as they learned it was the will of the distant government of Hankow. I put these facts down not as true of all Hunan, which I have not seen, but as true of many miles of it which I covered and which were acclaimed the worst districts.

Somehow or other, the proclaimers of new law and new social order, seizing and using property unashamed in the name of People's Power, always cause more horror in the breasts of the comfortable middle-classes than do those frankly lawless men who loot as mere ordinary sinners. But after what I saw of self-imposed discipline among the Hunan peasants, with all its roughness and crudities and searching for proper forms, I was filled with a new respect for the capacity of self-government among these people, awaking from the submissive sleep of a thousand years.



# These Misled Ministers

## Overheard in a Theological Library

O. B. GERIG

*Librarian:* (to a minister passing the desk) "What do you know about the Rev. Mr. —? Do you think he should be allowed to borrow books from this library now? You know only ordained and regular ministers in good standing can borrow books."

*Minister:* "I know of no reason why he should not use the library. There have been some things said against him, of course."

*Librarian:* "He left his church, you know. He's always getting into a mess. He is a German and during the war he was a pacifist. They think he was a spy. At least it looked as if they could trace some things up to him."

*Minister:* "Yes, I've heard some of those things said about him."

*Librarian:* "He seems to be one of those Reds. He was in with that crowd that backed up Sacco and Vanzetti. Nearly got jailed, I heard."

*Minister:* "You know he has his friends, however. There are some in our conference who back him and who think he is all right. Why don't you write to Mr. — and ask about him?"

*Librarian:* "Well, maybe I'd better do that. I don't want to let him use the library if he's one of those Reds. Goodbye."

*Minister:* "Goodbye."

\* \* \*

*In a few minutes another minister, just returned from some months' preaching in England, stepped to the desk to draw a book.*

*Librarian:* "Well, how did you find England?"

*Minister:* "It was most enjoyable. Everyone seemed so sane and thoughtful. They certainly are a sturdy people and are on the road to recovery from the war very rapidly."

*Librarian:* "I spent four months there six years ago. I like the scenery but the food is terrible. I certainly could not stand the English diet steadily."

*Minister:* "We took lodgings in London, spent some time in Edinburgh and Dublin and a few weeks in the country. We enjoyed the food and especially did we enjoy the afternoon teas. They are delightful occasions."

*Librarian:* "You were there during the Sacco-Vanzetti affair. Was there any excitement in England?"

*Minister:* "Well, people talked about it a great deal. They could not understand how such a thing could happen."

*Librarian:* "They probably got a lot of propaganda from over here. Why, I never saw or heard anything like the fuss around here. The radical element was worse than during the war."

*Minister:* (wistfully) "You don't say!"

*Librarian:* "I know of one man, a wealthy man, too, who is over in Europe this very minute trying to find the one man who saw the shooting. He says he is going to bring him back and show Governor Fuller up. . . . Those men were bad fellows. You know the type. You could see by looking at their faces that they were a bad lot."

*Minister:* "Well, in England in all circles, conservative as well as liberal, it was felt that after seven years these men should not be executed and especially did they question the matter of having the same judge review the trial. It seemed to me the intelligence of the whole world was shocked."

*Librarian:* "Oh, it was only the bolsheviks and the workers who kicked up a fuss. The respectable people were all satisfied."

*Minister:* (after a long pause) "Then I must reclassify myself, for even I felt that justice miscarried in this case, and I found many 'respectable' people in England who agreed on this point."

*Librarian:* "Well, I'm glad it's over with, anyway."

*Minister:* "Yes, over; one might wish it were over . . . (looking at a shelf of new books). Not many new books on the social application of religion here, are there? . . . Well, I must be going. Goodbye."

*Librarian:* "Goodbye." (Then, turning aside to the assistant) "Isn't it amazing how an old preacher like that could become so misled?"



# Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

## The Dangerous Missionaries

When William Carey at the end of the eighteenth century set out for India as a missionary, the East India Company gave this opinion of his venture: "The sending out of missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most extravagant, most costly, most indefensible project which has ever been suggested by a moon-struck fanatic. Such a scheme is pernicious, imprudent, useless, harmful, dangerous, profitless, fantastic. It strikes against all reason and sound policy, it brings the peace and safety of our possessions into peril."—*Louise Creighton, Missions. p. 58.*

## As Others Sees Us

Because Americans are optimistic, they are better equipped than the French for the battle of life. But the price of this advantage is a source of weakness, a diseased pride. . . . Americans are in no way ashamed of it; for their pride is without limit. . . . Convinced that he always stands for wisdom against folly, and for virtue against vice, the American takes little pains to penetrate the meaning of things he does not understand. He is impatient of all contradiction. He wants results, now or not at all. He prefers rapidity of execution to perfection of finish. He condemns whatever is unfamiliar to him. . . . He believes only in his own experience. He decides the affairs of others, peremptorily and without regard for their feelings.—*Andrew Tardieu, France and America, pp. 56-59.*

## God or Baal?

The professional pacifists in and out of office who at peace congresses pass silly resolutions which cannot be and ought not to be kept, and enter into silly treaties which ought not to and cannot be kept, are not serving God, but Baal.—*Theodore Roosevelt, Fear God and Take Your Own Part, p. 22.*

## Reasons for Not Being a Communist

How could I be a Communist? The Communists, in Russia and elsewhere, are atheists; I believe in God as the spiritual life of all this universe. The Communists advocate and practice the use of violence for righteous ends; I am a non-resistant pacifist who rejects the use of violence for any ends whatsoever. The Communists believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat; I am a democrat who believes as little in the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia as in the dictatorship of the capitalists in America or the Fascists in Italy. Finally, the Communists accept no moral standards for human conduct—like the Jesuits, they see no reason why a man should tell the truth, fulfil a promise, respect an oath, if it seems to be to his advantage not to do so. But I believe in morals, and do not know how to do business with a man who does not recognize his honor to be more important than his profit or even his life. So I am not a Communist; indeed, I am as far removed from Communism as from Mormonism or Roman Catholicism.—*John Haynes Holmes, What the World Owes to the Bolshevik!*

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Findings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

## The Flute Versus the Trumpet

"Christianity badly needs rash men who will not flinch from the crispness of religion, nor fear the result of stirring up wasps' nests. . . . There is nothing more dangerous than to avoid danger: nothing so annihilating as timidity. . . . Where the trumpet is expected, the flute will not suffice; and the flute, I fear, is the predominant instrument today in the orchestra of Institutional Religion. As things are Christianity is not given a chance: the Churches seem to have no courage for the fray.—*H. R. L. Sheppard, the Impatience of a Parson, pp. 10, 11, 21.*

## The Death Penalty

Capital punishment has been abolished in a large number of the countries in the world, including some of the most enlightened and law-abiding ones. In no single instance is there evidence of a permanent increase in homicidal crime as a result of abolition; in many there has been a decided decrease. The experience of these countries indicates that the Death Penalty cannot be a necessary deterrent.—*E. Roy Calvert, Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century, p. 91.*

## The Nordic

We know that when attempts were made to introduce Christianity to the old Nordics of the continent, Christ had to be disguised as a fierce warrior leading His troops. With us a different compromise is made. Christian doctrine is read in our churches, but in such a formal and routine manner that the sense is glazed over; Christianity is not inculcated, but its reverse, namely, snobishness and exclusiveness; and perhaps rightly. For Christianity is no religion for the Nordic, and it breaks down at once as soon as he comes to deal with subject peoples. If he treats them as equals, as his Bible tells him he should, his empire vanishes in smoke.—*R. N. Bradley, Racial Origins of English Character, p. 43.*

## At the Risk of Being Treated as an Enemy

I believe that the war has not taught the governments anything, and unless a miracle occurs, which we cannot expect, we are marching with great strides toward a new war that will surpass in duration and intensity that of 1914-1918. As I never shirk my responsibilities, I now make the following declaration: In case such a conflict as I indicated to you should break out, I shall never participate in it, just as I did not participate in the war of 1914. For it is impossible for me to associate myself with the destruction or the oppression of either one of these two civilizations of Europe and of Asia to the advantage of the other. The cause of humanity and of progress, the grandeur of the human spirit, need both these civilizations. Just as during the disastrous war of 1914—disastrous for the conquerors as well as for the vanquished—I tried obstinately to unite the Weltbuerger—the citizens of the world, of France, England, and Germany—I will then stretch out my hand to all free spirits of Europe and Asia and to the rest of the world. At the risk of being treated as an enemy by both camps, I shall defend the unity of mankind to my last breath.—*Romain Rolland, quoted in The Road to Peace, by Bernstein, pp. 168-170.*



# A Quest of Human Brothers

DOREMUS SCUDDER

**M**ANY years ago when, as a young missionary physician in Japan, I was working in a city far from any center where foreigners were found, I met a young Japanese Samurai, Nizo Naruse by name, about my own age, an uncompromised sincere Christian, who came at my request to take charge of a baby church and nurse it into strength. He left an important position as Japanese Head of a prosperous mission Girls' School in Osaka to essay the then forlorn hope in Niigata on the express condition that a move should be made to organize a School for Girls there since he had dedicated his life to women's education.

Our association was intimate and he became my most trusted Japanese friend. Convinced, after some years, of the inadequacy of existing Christian Schools to meet the demands of higher education for girls in his country, he determined to plant an ideal institution in Tokyo. The road to success was long and arduous and he was single handed but towards the end of the last century, he succeeded in establishing the Japan Women's University in the capital, which soon became the foremost institution of its kind in the Empire. The story of his votive offering of himself to his cause, of his thorough preparation for his task, of his gradual enlistment of some of the strongest men and women of his nation to back him up and of the remarkable religious impress stamped by him upon his university is one of the epic poems of modern human history.

Mr. Naruse's pellucid purity of life, simplicity of nature and freedom from guile, his unique singleness of aim and complete self identification with the one object that he cherished (the education of the Japanese woman), the almost unbelievable unselfishness which shone in every act and word, his utter carelessness as to titles and educational degrees, his perfect faith in his ideal and ability to win others to a like faith, his perseverance and dogged chiseling out of success, the loyalty of his friendships and the sincerity, genuineness and depth of his religious experience, made up, notwithstanding a certain physical angularity and absence of what is popularly called magnetism, a personality of rare effectiveness and power to achieve a great and lasting work. He was never in the people's eye, never played to the galleries, and had no use for publicity, but he belonged to the realm of the unseen quiet forces which in reality do the constructive upbuilding of the world.

Mr. Naruse was ahead of his age in religious experience. He founded his university on a non-religious-propaganda basis. No attempt of any kind was made

in it to change the faith of anyone. Not a few missionaries bitterly criticized him privately for thus "proving false," as they phrased it, to Christianity. At the same time, he encouraged any mission to build, equip and run, with all the religious exercises desired, private dormitories outside the university grounds for girl students. This freedom from religious propaganda and sectarian strife of all kinds gave to the institution a rare character. Religious exercises were held in the chapel but always of such a nature that no one could be offended. Buddhist as Buddhist, Christian as Christian, Confucianist as Confucianist, met there on common ground and worshipped together as a part of the great many-faithed human family. These gatherings were often of a most unique spiritual power. Dr. Tagore in India told me of a very remarkable service which he held in this University on his visit to Japan. The one great aim of Mr. Naruse's teaching was to help his students to experience and love God and to demonstrate and express that love in service to society. Convinced that the life both of the nation and of the entire human family rests upon the home, woman, as chief home maker, should be helped into a vital spiritual experience. He made his University a home where he lived with teachers and pupils a single life without a breath of scandal. The students carried with them at graduation a devotion to the University and thereafter gave themselves to its upbuilding with a devotion unique among the institutions of their country.

This essay in the one common human religion of the future deeply impressed me with the necessity and value of religious unity and helped prepare me to make of a just completed journey round the world, a Quest for Human Brothers.

**D**URING some weeks in the summer and fall of 1926, while in Geneva, which is fast becoming the capital of the World and is already, spiritually speaking, the most impressive and inspiring city on the globe, in conversation with a leading British Quaker one of whose chief interests had lain in the missionary work carried on by his denomination, I chanced to find that he had begun to feel the old converting era in the foreign field was ending and that an entirely new method and spirit of mutual approach between the great human religions must be inaugurated. We spoke of the Cult of Human Brothers and found one another in complete sympathy therewith.

Next a young Japanese internationalist, who is doing



brilliant work for his country and the world in the League of Nations and whom an American professor, who has been much in Japan and has studied her modes, has dubbed "the brightest of the younger sons of Dai Nippon" he had ever met, opened to me a door into his own experience. A student in several American colleges and universities with resulting A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees, he contemplated the Christian ministry and was studying for his B.D. in Union Seminary, New York, perhaps the greatest of America's divinity schools, when the absolute impossibility of Christian theology, even as taught there to meet the needs of the world or come to agreement with scientific truth, compelled him to reorient his life work and give himself to the task of helping in other ways than through the profession of a clergyman to make human society God's family on earth. He too was practising the cult of Human Brothers.

Thus with man after man, a knock at the door of the inner life revealed a like deep experience. Today it was a missionary from China utterly out of sympathy with traditional lines of religious propagandism. Tomorrow it was a group of teachers in those splendid institutions in Turkey, Robert College, Constantinople College for Women, The International College at Smyrna and St. Paul's Institute in Tarsus. Forbidden to teach religion in any of the schools of the country by rigorous Turkish law, did these specially equipped men and women educators anticipate returning home because they could not formally inculcate Christian doctrines? Some of the ardent supporters in America of the work in Turkey were saying "not a dollar of my money goes to a mission school where the Christian religion cannot be taught." But these teachers told me that it was a positive relief to cease their so-called religious educational work. Only one possible method of propaganda was left them and that was to live out a life radiant with the spirit of Jesus—one of the hardest and noblest of all tasks. And it happens that when the supporters at home get a vision of what this means, there is no lack of support.

THE next stage in my quest lay in Cairo and the typical person found was Mohammed Khaled Hassanein Bey at the head of the Department of Religious Education of Egypt. I will not detail all of our conversation. Let it suffice that he believes that the spirit of the essentials of all faiths is now binding men everywhere together and that the time is ripe for developing mankind into the unity of a great home.

In Bombay, the Y. M. C. A. Secretary in charge of its social work among the slums said, "An Indian recently asked me, 'Why are you doing this kind of work? Do you think to convert us to Christianity by these methods?' 'No,' said I, 'we are not aiming to convert you to Christianity but to convert you to right

living'." The entire approach of this young Secretary's work is that of friendly social service without a thought concerning the competitive propaganda of a religious system. He is not alone; for this method is characterizing not a few of the association men throughout India.

An afternoon with Dr. Tagore at his Ashram gave opportunity for rare interchange of experience. "We Indians meet God in nature as Love and Joy rather than as law. We have something in an Indian mentality which I may call a Universe consciousness or cosmic feeling. If we have not a feeling of Kinship with nature we lose something very vital. The Universe, this earth, sky, stars, all come from One, Central Creative Personality and this same creative will has its manifestation in our own consciousness; hence there issues this sense of relationship between the inner self and the outer world. I believe that Jesus reached brotherhood through fatherhood and that this has done great good and has begotten humanitarianism. Yet we find men who do not get to God though they may be great lovers of men. Religion cannot be taught. Teaching about religion is not teaching religion. Religion must be imparted from Spirit to Spirit." With reference to the barring of religious teaching from schools by Russia, Turkey and Mexico, Dr. Tagore added "I believe in this course myself. We teach no creed or faith in our school. The danger in so-called religious teaching lies in its effect upon those who follow the majority. As religion is an inner experience each must find his religion for himself and give no particular name to his find. As each one chooses his own line of development, so each man has power to grow himself into his own peculiar personality. I do not believe in the herding spirit in religion." I have given this conversation somewhat at length and without the questions which drew it out because it is so full of the modern spirit.

In India I addressed a large college audience of young men drawn from the Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian communities, nearly one-half from the last named. My theme was the development of democracy in Japan. Indian youth are hot for such a discussion. Later that day the College President, an American missionary from a conservative denomination, asked me "Did you notice that when you used the word Christian this morning, a wave of revulsion went over the audience, a sentiment shown by the Christian as well as the non-Christian students?" "No," I replied, "I was too intent on my theme." I had realized regretfully at the moment that I had used the adjective in the sentence "Japan is responding to Christian influences." It was done inadvertently and through the force of habit, for I avoid the words Christian and Christianity so far as I can because of their mixed connotation since the war. "Well," rejoined the educator, "we



younger missionaries do not use these words which convey a sinister meaning to Indians because of the war, because of the massacre at Amritsar and because of the ordinary Englishman's treatment of the average Indian he meets."

I could go on with many other such incidents, all of which show the vast change that has come over the consciousness of many leading religious propagandists. The greatest of all wars, an armed conflict primarily between nations professing Christianity, gave a blow to the organized Christian system the extent of which can by no means be calculated even today. It showed that Christianity, the name given to the present civilization of Europe and America, and the life of Jesus are absolute incompatibles. The world has been treated to the demonstration on a gigantic scale of the truth that when you try to organize religious truth into a system, you sap its vitality. When you build up any creed (except the working hypothesis which each individual constructs for himself) and make it binding upon other souls, you maim or kill the truth. The consciousness of this is moving men everywhere. "The truth shall make you free." Does this not mean that the truth which has gripped your soul so that you live it leads you out into the realm of spiritual liberty?

This consciousness is bringing men in all lands into the circle of human brothers. Each, striving to live out the one foundation fact of his kinship with all other men, passes from the heated and deafening realm of warfare, whether it be a conflict of physical violence or a struggle of rival doctrines, into the calm region of coöperation in building up a world-wide home of mutual service. In such collaboration to achieve great social aims and banish the ills that curse this world, opportunity for the largest exercise of individual and group talent sounds its appeal to every soul. Organization for such ends is both natural and effective.

ONE of the rare joys of a quest for human brothers is the vision of a well-nigh universal longing for unity which it discloses. Men are sick and tired of rival faiths all over the world. Whatever religious systems you study, you will find a weariness of propaganda, a consciousness of the essential oneness of the great faiths and a yearning to be rid of the non-essentials that curse them all. The world is waking up to find itself one. The divisive, separative factors in life are largely connected with organized religious systems. So in India, Moslem and Hindu periodically fight to kill. In America at the other extremity of the social scale, the fundamentalist and modernist batter each other in pulpit and press. And multitudes of the spectators in sheer despair are leaving formal religion alone while they study to learn and practice harmony, harmony with the Great Father Spirit in the universe and harmony with their fellow men.

The best thing about the practise of the cult of human brothers is its entire freedom from publicity. It is the very expression of Jesus' utterance "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation." It has no propaganda. Its devotees may find or not find religious services in church or temple an inspiration. Ritual and symbolism may appeal to some. A Puritan plainness and severity of formal worship may move others. These surface currents are entirely immaterial. By all means let them continue. For iconoclasm is the very opposite of the practise of the brother cult. The protestant in this spiritual trend is the man who finds no room in his inner experience for church or temple, yet treats with the same spirit of catholicity all who differ regarding these outer manifestations of religious consciousness.

To make a new sect out of these human brothers would only be to end them. Organization would starve them to death. To seek any statement of agreement would suppress them. Statistics would serve as their gravestone. As these brother men touch elbows in the life of every day, the electric current flowing from each to each will reveal their identity, give a progressive conception of how impossible it is to number them, bring untold inspiration, and deepen ever more the world harmony.

## June

JUNE sleeps in the grass,  
And her dreams whisper and pass  
From buttercup to clover  
Under the wings of the plover  
To the eggs in her prudent nest.  
From their choir-stall the blest  
White iris like kerchiefed nuns  
Chant softly to the sun's  
Golden presence; the tall  
Lemon-lilies call  
The doves on little coral  
Feet patting like laurel  
Windblown.

Now the clock's  
At six; in the phlox  
A dusty honeybee hangs.  
Somewhere a door bangs  
Shaking from the tree  
Hard cherries green and free,  
And a startled busy robin  
Leaves the tangled bobbin  
Of last year's rusty grass.  
I hear green sandals pass  
And touch each bush and brake. . . .  
June walks, wide awake!

RUTH LANGLAND HOLBERG



# The Book End

*The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.*

## Concerning Capital Punishment

ER. ROY CALVERT'S little book of two hundred pages on *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century*<sup>1</sup> is one of the best things I have ever read. I had the pleasure of meeting the author in London, which may account in some measure for my admiration for the book. He is a devoted young man of Quaker stock, which to me shows that being reared in an atmosphere of tolerance and heterodoxy tends to the humanities, and, after all, the whole question of capital punishment is contained in a point of view. If one is hard and cruel and unthinking, he is for it. If one has understanding and feeling, he is against it. This book is full of understanding. Mr. Calvert spends a great deal of his time in visiting prisoners and the various jails and other places of torture in Great Britain and he approaches everything from the humane point of view.

His first chapter deals with the question of the protection of society and it ought to be sufficient to satisfy anyone of the ignorance and barbarism of those who like to see people put to death. It tells of cart-loads of young girls and boys on their way to execution. Everybody thought that if they stopped killing children murders would increase in England. Still they did stop legal killing and the result has been good.

He quotes evidence before the Royal Commission of 1866 which shows that "of the 167 persons under sentence of death in Bristol, attended by the Reverend W. Roberts, prison chaplain, no less than 164 had been present at public executions."

Mr. Calvert goes over the whole subject of the barbarous code of England which punished some two hundred offences with death and the hard fight that was made by the hardboiled, whose last refuge is America, to keep on killing people for poaching and stealing, no matter what their age.

He has done more than any other author I know of to show the penal code of the other nations of the world, and one is amazed to see how much more cruel and ignorant America is than most of the countries in the world. Some of the more modern countries have out-door prisons and most of the terror has been taken away from a prison sentence. We release an offender after he has been demoralized and destroyed and where he has no chance to take the place he should after he returns to society. Most of the important countries of the world have long ago abolished capital punishment. After all the rest have got through with it, we will probably follow.

Mr. Calvert gives us a fine collection of the utterances of men of intelligence and feeling down through the ages who have opposed capital punishment. It seems as if almost everybody worth while can be found in this list. Amongst those named are Victor Hugo, Henry Ward Beecher, Bacon, Charles Dickens, Thackeray, Longfellow, Whittier, Jeremy Bentham, Lafayette, John Bright, Romilly, Thomas Hardy, Lecky, William McDougall, Laurence Housman, Burns, Oscar Wilde, and Channing. But it is im-

possible to humanize a man who is not human, no matter how many names are quoted. Some people will continue to be angry if they do not witness the spectacle of the execution of women and children.

He does not leave much to the fool idea that people are deterred from violating laws through fear. Strange it is that those who believe and profess most about their religion—a religion which teaches that all men deserve not only death but eternal hell fire—should moralize about their own goodness, while they are getting themselves out of a scrape, by the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross! But that is the way of the world.

The book could be stronger upon the scientific side. Evidently Mr. Calvert has not approached the question as a biologist or very thoroughly as a psychologist. Still this does not much detract from its value. The information contained in this book as to the number of executions in various countries, especially England, the character of the crimes for which men have been executed, the poor and unfortunate who have always been the victims, and the growing tendency of intelligent people to feel shame not only over executions but over the cruelty of prisons will commend the book to all thoughtful people.

I am fairly well familiar with the literature on this subject and can say without hesitation that in spite of the fact that the biological side has been overlooked, it is the best book for popular reading that I am acquainted with.

CLARENCE DARROW.

## Germany—Past and Present

IN three lectures, brought together in a slim little book, Ernst Jaekh has painted a picture, not only of himself, but of a large number of his fellows. In *The New Germany*,<sup>1</sup> you see, first of all, a man who lost his son, Hans; and second, you see the grieved, hurt look of the German intellectual to whom the war brought disillusionment and isolation. Surely his auditors at Geneva must have sensed this, as they sat there industriously taking notes in some dozen languages, during those summer days when the League's School of International Relations was in session.

To be sure, there are history, psychology, sociology, political science, in compact, brief, usable form, though perhaps not such a masterly condensation as the relevant chapters of Gooch's *Germany*.

Another recent volume along similar lines is Danton's *Germany Ten Years After*.<sup>2</sup> There the scars and searings of the great conflict are more evident. Danton, of course, does not mean to show the scars. On the contrary, he is at times cheerfully gossipy, and his loosely-organized book has in it no "taint" of introspection or sentiment. But because his pages show an almost indiscriminate interest in detail, they are the more convincing. He is an American, a professor in Tsing Hua University, Peking,

<sup>1</sup> Published by the Oxford University Press. \$2.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Houghton Mifflin Co. \$3.50.



who was for a year exchange professor at Leipzig, and because of his double background, he has a mind which works like a fine lens in picking out little, unnoticed details. You learn about coffee-substitutes during the inflation, about professors' libraries, about student athletics, about the heating of German bedrooms, about the naivete which either thinks of America as the land of James Fenimore Cooper or else as an oppressive hell composed of skyscrapers, the Chicago stockyards, and the Ford assembly line. You learn about other things, too—about rickets, the Dawes plan, and similar after-war realities. A photograph—but like all photographs, a trifle flat, comfortably clear and prosaic.

HOWARD BECKER

## Fascinating History of the U. S. A.

WE are moving fast from the dry old history of tradition, with its emphasis on a few great personages and events, toward a history which sees the supreme importance of the actual social life of the people. And nothing that has recently appeared—not even excepting the Beards' *Rise of American Civilization*—surpasses in this respect a new 12-volume *History of American Civilization*, edited by Professors Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox.

Four volumes are already published. Unfortunately these four are Nos. II, III, VI, and VIII in the set, and it is impossible to read them with the mood of an unfolding story. It is disconcerting to leave Vol. III with 1763, for example, and make a breathless jump to 1830 in Vol. VI. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the gaps are hard to endure because the mettle of what you can read tantalizes you with a zest for the still missing volumes.

The viewpoint, the writing, and the feeling of intimacy given with the periods covered are all extraordinary. The names of obscure people are used along with the incidents in which they figured, thus livening the issues centering in them. There is no kowtowing to great worthies. Social movements are given the right of way over military escapades and glory. And the peace movement, which the Beards dismissed with an uninterested page and a half and most historians ignore altogether, is dealt with more intelligently, though here also much too scantily for the significance it has held in our national life despite its patent failures.

Though the style is not always distinguished, it is business-like and journalistic for the most part, characterized by humor and a skilled use of direct quotation. There is real flavor in these volumes—the smell of Virginia tobacco, the scent of prairie winds, the acrid fumes of the machines, even the odor (not as a rule like perfume) of Puritan sanctity. Yet there is generous tolerance, even in the midst of irony. History full of tang and packed with "local color"!

*The First Americans*, by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, is Vol. II, covering the stretch of years from 1607 to 1690. Like most Americans, I imagine, who have suffered almost irreparably from the older history teaching, I have felt that the United States began to function vividly about 1775, after a hazy period of colonial pioneering. Yet from the Jamestown colony to the Declaration of Independence is seventeen years longer than from the Revolution to THE WORLD TOMORROW. That is all made refreshingly clear by Professor Wertenbaker.

Taking up the relay, James Truslow Adams writes, in Vol. III, of *Provincial Society*. He has been set a harder task, in some respects, but manages well to keep up interest. Professor Adams

devotes a valuable chapter to "The Economic Basis" of that society, and his chapters on "The Aristocrats" and "The Common Man" are almost unbelievably human. You simply know the people of whom he writes, you live in their rough but not unlovely homes, you grip your hands around their tools, you dance and sing with them, you watch as they never could the decline of the artistic impulse in the country, and with acute fellow-feeling you witness its returning upthrust.

The period 1830-1850 constitutes Vol. VI, and is entitled *The Rise of the Common Man*. The author is Carl Russell Fisher. Strong emphasis is given to agriculture, industry and labor; but the marked movement toward humanitarianism that was blasted by the Civil War is given sympathetic though not uncritical treatment. The state of public morals, dress, eatables, the general infrequency of baths even among the *cognoscenti*,—all these are graphically brought under focus.

*The Emergence of Modern America*, Vol. VIII, by Allan Nevins, picks up the pieces after the Civil War, and takes you from 1865 to 1878. The Armours and the Swifts, and the other great industrialists and business men, are put in a truer perspective than usual, and the clash of the Eastern financial-industrial power with the protesting farmers of the West is made to stand out clearly, while such social facts as the rising influence of women are recognized as important. President Grant is handled with unapologetic realism, and a number of political figures, such as Thaddeus Stevens, Andrew Johnson, and Charles Sumner, for example, are all but or entirely ignored!

The illustrations are delightful, and are calculated to interest as "human documents." A fine bibliographical discussion concludes each volume.

For a sheer reference work this history will have little value. But the significance of bare historic facts is bound to be less and less hereafter, except as evaluated against a screen of human group activity. For that purpose, this set of a dozen volumes, judging by the four thus far in print, will be for some time unsurpassed.

It is hardly wise to approve too heartily of our ancestors. But such perspective as this series gives is bound to make everyone a little more sympathetic, if hardly more deferential, toward his great-grandparents. (Published by the Macmillan Co. \$4.00 per volume.)

D. A.

## Man's Quest for Social Guidance

TO include, between two covers, all the varied considerations that have a bearing on this social life of ours; to organize this material in such a way as to meet the needs of those who desire a full college course in social problems, and also those who wish a briefer introductory course to the social sciences; and, further, to satisfy the increasingly large number of mature folk eager to bridge the distance between yesterday and today—this is the rather ambitious purpose of the book by Howard W. Odum, entitled *Man's Quest for Social Guidance*. It is probably not too much to say that the author has come very near to achieving this threefold objective toward which he started. One might question whether the attempt to meet the needs of three groups has not hampered the treatment in its ability to reach adequately any one of them.

There is another combination found here which may be of particular value for the mature reader, who does not have the time or opportunity to follow specialized courses in the social sciences. Principles of sociology, social psychology and social



anthology are interwoven in a most interesting manner throughout the entire work.

The concept of and desire for the "good life" are found as a legitimate approach to the study of society. Historic views of this objective are presented and treated with reference to the relation of the individual to society. Racial and international relationships follow in the treatment, leading to an analysis of social institutions within these larger masses. Chapter headings such as "Children and Society," "Youth and Society," "Woman and Society," "Religion and Society" indicate the tendency to treat of the social order in terms of its classification along institutional lines.

It seems to the reviewer that this volume will be especially useful as a general reference book in high school and college libraries, and as a book of general social information for the average mature person who wishes to have his knowledge brought down to date and future trends prognosticated. (Published by Henry Holt and Company. \$4.50.)

WALTER BURR

## How Achieve Security?

EVER since the war the nations have been wrestling with the problem of security. They have differed as to the proper order of the required steps: disarmament, arbitration, security. Professor Bruce Williams, of the University of Virginia, in a most lucid volume, *State Security and the League of Nations*, has reviewed the various efforts made during the past decade to achieve security. A volume like this is quite indispensable to an understanding of the public mind in European countries. Every American who is seeking the outlawry of war should study this book with great care. (Published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 2.75).

K. P.

## An Emperor Who Lived Too Long

SIXTY-EIGHT years an Emperor! That was the fate of Francis Joseph, virtually the last of the Hapsburgs. Misfortunes pursued him. "One after the other the members of his family were snatched away by violent and terrible deaths. His brother was executed; his son a suicide; his wife assassinated. His sister-in-law, the Duchess of Alençon, perished in the famous Bazar fire at Paris; the Archduchess Hedvig burnt to death by upsetting a candle while dressing; the Archduke William was killed by a fall from his horse; the Archduke Ladislas by his own shotgun going off; the Archduke John disappeared in a South Atlantic storm."

Similarly he was pursued in political life. The times were mainly out of joint and he was not the man to set them right. With a dozen nationalities clamoring for national and cultural autonomy, with a treacherous, selfish, and jealous partner like Hungary, Francis Joseph could see nothing but perverseness in the agitation that was carried on by the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Poles, the Ruthenians, the Slovenes and the others. While the fires of nationalism were forging new and powerful nations like Germany and Italy, they were burning the Austro-Hungarian empire to charred ruins. The tragedy of the empire was that the man was so long-lived. Somehow the venerable, conscientious and somewhat stupid man, lonely, and wearing the halo of martyrdom, received an undeserved consideration from the disgruntled nationalities. His successor had already promised to grant their demands. But the old man lived on and on with a fatal pertinacity.

When he finally laid his weary body to rest in 1916, it was too late. The polyglot, poly-national crazyquilt was torn asunder into many fragments. Its historic justification lay in the defense of its many peoples against the Turk in the 17th and 18th centuries. That danger had passed. When the empire refused to change at a time when every Western government underwent changes amounting to a revolution, it was not merely an anachronism, but a nuisance, an oppressor, a tyrant. It might have lived had it been liberalized. But there was Francis Joseph.

Eugene Bagger tells the story of *Francis Joseph and of Austria-Hungary* in a light, readable, fascinating book. His bibliographies ought by all means include *Kleinwaechter, Untergang der oesterreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* which would immeasurably enrich the story of hostile nationalities. (Published by Putnam. \$5.)

H. C. E.

## Normal Psychology

HARRY OVERSTREET has written a very helpful and interesting volume of psychology for normal people under the intriguing title *About Ourselves*. Aside from the fascination of seeing ourselves objectively in these pages there are suggested ways, at the close of each chapter, of modifying our behavior to more adequately meet our needs. The book is well written with a simplicity that leaves power to concentrate on ourselves as we read. The chapters on poetry and music are especially helpful to the unprofessional but normal person. His discussion of an inter-creating mind gives power to his work. This is not a first book of psychology for the average person, nor is it new material for individuals trained in psychology. It is, to my way of thinking, splendid for the normal person interested enough to know that emotional balance is, for all of us, a vital matter. (Published by W. W. Norton & Co. \$3.)

A. A. S.

## Arbitration Treaties

HOW would you like to secure a chart showing all arbitration treaties now in force between the United States and foreign countries, together with full information as to the exact nature of these various treaties? Spend five cents and your wish will be granted! The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York City, has published a booklet by Philip C. Jessup, entitled *The United States and Treaties for the Avoidance of War*, which in addition to the chart referred to contains a brief history of our arbitration record. For twenty-five cents you may become an annual subscriber to "International Conciliation," of which this is the April issue.

K. P.

## Samples

FOUR years ago the Community Workers of the New York Guild for the Jewish Blind needed money. They decided on an anthology of short stories. Leading American writers responded and contributed the royalties to the Guild fund. *Samples* is the fourth annual volume. The collection consists of previously published work and includes work of nineteen of our best known short story writers. The stories are taken not from current magazines, but from various publications. Willa Cather, Scott Fitzgerald, Dreiser, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Galsworthy, Elinor Wylie, and the others—they're all in *Samples*. (Published by Boni and Liveright, \$2.50.)

A. A. S.



## Fresh Air in Religion

**H**ENRY NELSON WIEMAN has recently published two books—*Religious Experience and Scientific Method*(1) and *The Wrestle of Religion With Truth*(2). The former is a thorough, lucid, and fearless analysis of religious experience—mysticism, common and uncommon; why religion needs scientific method, why science needs religion's new visions, what a glorious social order they could together build. The latter is an up-to-the-minute appraisal of religious methods and religious concepts—relentlessly scientific yet warmly sympathetic; not for beginners, but never pedantic. Whitehead is largely drawn on for a satisfying modern concept of God. . . . Both books are immensely valuable, chiefly in that they make you want to do something and also supply intelligent suggestions as to what to do. (1) Published by Macmillan, \$2.25; (2) Macmillan, \$2.50.

PATRICK MALIN.

## The Changing Horizon of Missions

**T**HOSE persons who have not been intimately in touch with the situation can scarcely realize how great a revolution in attitudes toward Christian missions has occurred within the past two decades. Documentary evidence revealing this profound change in sentiment may be found in *Students and the Future of Christian Missions*, which is a record of the addresses at the Tenth Quadrennial Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement, held at Detroit at the beginning of this year. For a comprehensive world-wide survey of the present state of Christian missions and the points of view of missionary leaders, the book is in a class by itself. Incidentally, five of the chief speakers at the convention are members of the Editorial Council of this journal. (Published by The Student Volunteer Movement, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City, \$2.50.)

K. P.

## 755,190 Speeches

**D**ECEIT and falsehood are as essential to success in war as are bayonets and bullets. Every belligerent government in the recent war went in for propaganda on a vast scale. The whole sordid story is told by Harold D. Lasswell in his disturbing volume *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. The extent to which the Committee on Public Information, headed by George Creel, flooded the United States with distortions and falsehoods is indicated by a few figures: "Thirty-odd booklets were printed in several languages. Seventy-five million copies were circulated in America, and many millions were circulated abroad. . . . The Four Minute Men commanded the volunteer service of 75,000 speakers, operating in 5,200 communities, and making a total of 755,190 speeches." Yet we are told that wars are due to the fighting instinct! (Published by Knopf, \$5.) K. P.

## Six Is a Tremendous Age

**T**HREE years ago we all read and quoted *When We Were Very Young*. A. A. Milne ought to be written to. Someone should ask him why all of us must grow up at such a rate? Three years elapse and his publishers bring out *Now We are Six*. It is a worthy successor. My minister read from it in Church the other day. (Published by E. P. Dutton. \$2.)

A. A. S.

## BETTER BOOKS for ALL-ROUND READING

**The Changing South**, by William J. Robertson. New York: Bon and Liveright, 1927. 6 x 8½. 311 pages. \$3. An interesting survey of social, political, economic, educational and religious life below the famous line.

**China, Yesterday and Today**, compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1928. 5½ x 8. 362 pages. \$2.40. Selected articles on a wide range of subjects.

**A Federal Department of Education**, compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1927. 5½ x 8. 357 pages. \$2.40. Selected articles giving pros and cons.

**The Conquest of our Western Empire**, by Agnes C. Laut. New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., 3¾ x 8¾. 363 pages. \$5. An impressive story of the pioneers who moved toward the unconquered Northwest heralding the advance of civilization. Nicely balanced between social and economic forces and vigorous personalities.

**The Creator Spirit**, by Charles E. Raven. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 5½ x 7½. 310 pages. \$2.50. A survey of Christian doctrine in the light of biology, psychology and mysticism.

**Jesus the Citizen**, by James Alexander Robertson. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. 5¼ x 7½. 189 pages. \$2. Especial attention is given by the author to the environment in which Jesus lived.

**The Church in the World**, by Dean W. R. Inge. New York: Longmans, Green, 1927. 5¼ x 7½. 275 pages. \$2. A series of essays on the Church of England, Roman Catholicism, Hellenism, Science. There is an appreciative chapter on the Quaker.

**Our Asiatic Christ**, by Oscar MacMillan Buck. New York: Harper, 1927. 4½ x 7. 181 pages. \$1.25. A discussion of the attitudes of educated Indians toward Jesus.

**A Subaltern on the Somme**, by Mark VII. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1928. 5 x 7½. 229 pages. \$2. A stirring story of the World War, not of military action, primarily, but the conflict and turmoil in a sensitive, tender, humanitarian mind responsive to beauty and looking beyond war.

**Conflict or Co-operation—A Study Outline**, by J. B. Matthews and Sylvanus M. Duvall. New York: American Committee of the World Youth Congress, 104 East 9th Street, Room 386. A pamphlet of 89 pages. 5 cents. Though prepared for use by the great Youth Peace Congress to meet in Holland next August, it is fine for any group of young people who want to understand the challenges in our present social disorder.

**Talks to Students About God and Life**, by Cephas Guillet. 1927. 50 cents from author, at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. A paper-bound book containing a series of stimulating and scientific chapel talks on religion and its application, free from dogmas and the staler approaches to its theme.



**The Story of the American Indian**, by Dr. Paul Radin. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 6 x 9. 371 pages. \$5. An extremely interesting story of the habits and customs of the primitive peoples of North, South and Central America.

**The Fountain of Youth**, by Padraic Colum. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 5½ x 7¼. 206 pages. \$1.75. The story of Achilles, the story of Odysseus and other thrilling stories to be told.

**The Kingdom of the Mind**, by June E. Downey. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 5¼ x 8. 207 pages. \$2. Third in the series "The Young People's Shelf of Science." All about ourselves in simple language.

**Economic Problems, New and Old**, by Allyn A. Young. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. 5¾ x 8¼. 301 pages. \$3.50. Essays by a Harvard professor dealing with the concentration of wealth, taxation, anti-trust legislation, war debts, etc.

**The Christian Experience of Forgiveness**, by H. R. Mackintosh. New York: Harpers, 1927. 6 x 9. 299 pages. \$3. An effort "to think out anew, in the light of modern knowledge, the foundation affirmations of our common Christianity."

**The Gospel of Sadhu Sundar Singh**, by Dr. Friedrich Heiler. New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. 5¾ x 8½. 277 pages. \$3. A scholarly biography of the famous Indian Christian. A stimulating antidote for the materialism of the West.

**The Essentials of International Public Law**. Amos S. Hershey. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 6 x 8¾. 784 pages. A revised edition of a valuable study.

**The Impatience of a Parson**, by H. R. L. Sheppard. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1928. 5½ x 7½. 227 pages. \$2. A well known Anglican clergyman tells why he is distressed over the present state of the church.

**A Servant of the Mightiest**, by Mrs. Alfred Wingate. New York: Brentano's. 1927. 5 x 7½. 351 pages. \$2.50. Genghis Khan's colorful and dramatic boyhood and rise to power, told from the viewpoint of a mother to whom everything that Willie does is right.

**Venture**, by Max Eastman. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. 1927. 5½ x 7½. 398 pages. \$2.50. This novel could be read either as a discussion of a poet's finding his way in the present industrial system or a series of love affairs. I read it for the first and it is convincing.

**The Mother**, by Grazia Deledda. Translated from the Italian by Mary G. Steegmann. New York: Macmillan. 1927. 5½ x 7½. 239 pages. \$2. Written in 1920, awarded the Nobel prize in 1927. The tragedy of a priest tempted from his spiritual office by the demands of love. His mother, who struggles for him, is drawn with great skill.

**The Science of Religion**, by Lewis Guy Rohrbaugh. New York: Henry Holt. 1927. \$3, student's edition \$2.40. An introduction to the evidence which science—especially psychology—offers concerning the validity of prevailing religious ideas; regularly clear, sometimes stimulating, but often over-cautious and only infrequently new.

#### LANKES Woodcuts

On page 253 of this issue we have reproduced a woodcut by J. J. Lankes. Signed prints of this and many others mounted on good white mats: \$1.25 each; 2 for \$2.25; 3 for \$3.25 postpaid. Also larger prints by the same artist up to \$15.00. Not sent on approval, but exchangeable within 10 days. Excellent for gifts and for framing.

#### THE WORLD TOMORROW

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Outlawry and the League

I WANT to tell you how helpful I found your article on "Borah, Outlawry and League" (it straightened out my thinking quite a little) and in general how much I am enjoying the new WORLD TOMORROW.

*Aurora-on-Cayuga, New York.*

FRANK LORIMER.

THANK you sincerely for your able and timely article on Outlawry and the League. It is statesmanlike, a searching analysis that must throw light on the whole situation. I agree with you in your stand for the League of Nations, but it seems wise to encourage the present administration to push on with its outlawry plan for many reasons. It requires America's position vis-à-vis the League. Outlawry brings into action many forces that can help toward peace and will ultimately strengthen the League.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is incisive, interesting, and vibrant with moral energy. I congratulate you upon its influence and power.

*Richmond, Va.*

S. C. MITCHELL.

THE article entitled "Senator Borah, Outlawry and the League," in your May number, seems to me to point out a complete agreement—in all but the choice of words—between two sections of the movement for international peace in this country which have had difficulty in reaching agreement in the past. The problem which keeps coming back to us is this question of the definition of an aggressor nation. Dr. Morrison repeats the statement which he has published a number of times that it is impossible to define aggression and defense. On the other hand, he draws a distinction between the "innocent" nation and the "guilty" nation under the regime of the Outlawry of War. The innocent nation is the one which takes its case to court and the guilty nation is the one which refuses to do so, goes to war and continues to fight. The test is whether a nation is guilty of breaking its pledge by going to war or not. Now, if for the word "innocent" were substituted the word "defendant," and if for the word "guilty" were substituted the word "aggressor," we should have the literal statement of the definition set forth by the Committee of 1924, which first launched the definition of aggression. Apparently the words "aggression" and "defense" conveyed other meanings than those in the definition and kept on conveying those other meanings in spite of the definition, so that the definition itself was never properly taken at face value; the result is that we have had years of misunderstanding and debate without getting anywhere.

I do not raise this point for any justification of past actions or a continuance of an old discussion. I trust it will not be taken in that sense; but only as an effort to clarify a situation which should be cleared up at once if we are to bring the full force of the peace movement into action at a time when that is most essential.

I do not care whether a guilty nation is called an aggressor or just guilty but the important thing is that it should not go to war and that there should be pertinent alternatives for settling its disputes. Dr. Morrison speaks only of one alternative here, namely, the Court. That was my opinion in 1924; but in the course of the debate in Geneva that summer, it became evident that we should then find ourselves faced with another impediment



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in that the Court might not prove to be the proper tribunal for certain crises. As a result of the discussions which arose from that debate, I no longer regard the alternative to war as limited to a submission to a legal procedure, but have suggested that political questions should go to the pertinent political institution for settlement with the result that the determination of the guilt or innocent nation is not left to a judicial body alone.

This question, however, is a different one from the test to determine the innocent or guilty. The test must be made in some such way as that indicated by Dr. Morrison or in the so-called definition of aggression. And time and experience will show us the pertinent tribunal in each case.

New York City.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL.

## The Pennsylvania Cossacks

BY September 15, 1927, this great strike was in full swing here. The Coal Company (Clearfield Bituminous) shut down its mines on July 1. Later it tried to operate on a cut wage scale.

Every day in the week there is morning and evening service. After a time the crowd became so large and the weather was still very warm, they suggested that we go out on the church lot to sing. This we did.

Now the company brought in men to operate the mines. Many of the men had been deceived and did not know that there was any kind of labor trouble here. But when they saw that vast crowd of men, women and children, and heard them singing, they knew that things were not as they had been told. The Company at once set to work to try to hinder us. They tried various ways. One was to intimidate the people by stationing deputy sheriffs, as many as eight, around us. Also State Troopers would ride up to the church on their horses. The superintendent would drive up his car and stop in front of the church. Usually he had a boss or two from the mines. They had pad and pencils and they would write in them every time someone passed. I guess they wanted to make the people believe they were taking down their names. (They really did write down their names.) The head officials of the mines would drive up in their cars and sit watching. It surely was ridiculous the way they acted. One would think we were a lot of outlaws.

Then came the injunction. I did not give any heed to it, because we assembled there in peace to sing and pray. I thought that the laws of our land granted us this blood-bought privilege. We continued for a week or two. Then seven of us were taken before the judge for contempt of court. I might add that we have never had a riot or any outbreak in our ranks. Everyone is very peaceable. But, seemingly, our meetings became very annoying to them. The sheriff made a statement that in order to keep Phillips away from that church he would put him under an injunction. He did, but six months have passed and we are still holding our meetings, thank God!

Rossiter, Pa.

ANDREW J. PHILLIPS.

P. S.—Shoes, shoes, shoes—is the constant cry among our people. Many of our boys and girls could not attend school because they had no shoes. Men and women stay home from church, because they lack shoes. Who will help us to get shoes?



## Those "Boasting" Americans

ON page 180 of your issue for April, in a book-review by "K. P.," I find the words: "Few Americans who read it Garner's "American Foreign Policies"] will be able to boast for week afterwards."

Very likely. I am sure I hope so. But who and where are these boasting Americans? I have been hearing about them all my life. Boastfulness is accounted by our foreign friends a typical American trait. I suppose it must exist somewhere.

Yet I am approaching the Scriptural threescore and ten. I have visited every one of the forty-eight States of the Union. I have talked with bank-presidents, taxi-drivers, aldermen, railway trainmen, farmers, multi-millionaires, soldiers and sailors, college professors, editors, radio-announcers, movie magnates, dog-fanciers, gardeners, members of the female sex, and others. I have never heard anybody boast. Where are these boasters? I would have much to teach with them!

St. Louis, Mo.

ARTHUR E. BOSTWICK.

## The Finest of Its Kind

THE article in the March issue by Frederick Harris on "The Sexual Relation in Marriage" is quite the finest thing of its kind that I have ever seen. It is so good a constructive interpretation that I wish it might be reprinted in leaflet form. I would like to give a copy of it to every bridegroom who comes to me at the marriage ceremony. I believe the information and inspiration contained in its fine paragraphs would do much to prevent misunderstandings and maladjustments and the heart-aches that so often come with the long, hard schooling of experience.

Madison, Wis.

R. W. BARSTOW.

## Only One Complaint

THE WORLD TOMORROW I have only one complaint—it takes the month a long time to run around until I get the next issue.

Edmonton, Alberta

RUSSELL MCGILLIVRAY

## A Fixture in the "Family"

THE WORLD TOMORROW has been on my reading table from its very beginning. It is better today than ever. No one concerned with the vital issues of today—and tomorrow—can afford to miss the stimulus and illumination. Count me in the "family" as a fixture.

Pasadena, California

ANGELO E. SHATTUCK

## The Wolf at the Garage Door

STUART CHASE'S epigram in his article in the March issue of your magazine, "the wolf is back of the garage instead of the kitchen door," is one of the best that I have read for many years. I have repeated it a number of times, and believe me, many with limited means who are endeavoring to "keep up with the Joneses" by having automobiles are able to appreciate the secret if not openly its grim humor and significance.

Kensington, Maryland

CLARENCE W. BROOMALL

## Correction

IN our issue of March, 1928, the price of Charles Guignebert's *Christianity* was given as \$3.75. It should have read \$4.50.

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The Industrial and Business and Professional girls report on what took place during their Assembly sessions.

3. A Talk to the Students..... *Maude Royden*

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8. Far Away in the Near East

*Josephine Noyes Felts*

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9. Presenting the Parables... *Amanda Nelson*

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## The Last Page

MISS HARDLOT, who used to learn from grades seven and eight, may have been lacking a trifle in intelligence, but surely never in zeal. One of her early aims was a military scrupulosity about objects dropped upon the floor. Every dropped pencil automatically meant staying fifteen minutes after school, and there was no time off for good behavior nor reduced wages of sin for second and third offenses. It soon grew to be the obligation of gallantry, whenever a girl was required thus to remain, for her admirers to secure their own incarceration for a similar period; and, consequently, more, instead of fewer, pencils found their way to the resounding floor.

Always resentful of injustice, our spirits rose to utter rebellion when Miss Hardlot adopted a practice of confiscating any apples which, in early fall, were stored in desks or pockets but did not succeed in staying there. The poorer apples thus acquired by the teacher went into the waste basket; but the especially good ones ultimately reached Miss Hardlot's wry yet appreciative lips. This was quite too much. There was a council of war. Next morning ten boys wriggled into their seats with difficulty, due to pockets that bulged to the limit of their capacity—pockets both of pants and coats. All was calm until, toward recess, the unmistakable sound was heard of an apple bouncing merrily along an aisle. Miss Hardlot pounced. But before she could recover her posture of ram-rod-like erectness, there was a noise half-way between the falling of myriad huge hailstones and the staccato of a machine-gun. Crabapples at the rate of no fewer than a hundred per boy bobbed across every foot of floor space, and so quickly, withal, that not even the veriest archangel could have told from whence they came. Miss Hardlot wildly glared into laughing faces, but faces whose eyes spoke harshly a single challenge: "Now, pick *those* up!"

But we, as it turned out, picked them up. It took the whole room to do it. And yet, despite that service toward the restoration of order, the room was informed that all the boys (as obviously guilty, being possessed with the potentiality of ample pockets) would remain after school two hours every night for a week. Poor Miss Hardlot could never transpose cause and effect into their rightful sequence.

It was during this week that the skeleton used to teach physiology freed itself from its wonted wiring and when its cupboard door was opened by Miss Hardlot, reeled drunkenly upon her and broke to—is it 200?—pieces in her hysterical arms.

It was later on, however, on another afternoon of imprisonment, that a game of ice polo (not hockey in our section, at that time) required the presence of five letter-wearing stalwarts in other parts of our town at an hour when, according to Miss Hardlot's reckoning, we were reflecting on our sins. The smallest of the five was I, the largest of them was Fat Jerndon, our invincible goaltender. By rare good fortune Fat's seat was next the door of the rear coatroom, a place assigned him less by desire of Miss Hardlot than for the reason it was the only seat quite large enough to hold him. While the angular watchdog was temporarily engrossed in scolding a flock of feminine hang-overs four poloists calmly knelt and crawled silently from the room, sheltered at the point of real danger by Fat's extremely utilitarian

corpulence. For the rotund youth himself, however, there were genuine difficulties. It was fifteen minutes ere he joined us George's candy shop. "Did she see ya?" we inquired. "Ye guess maybe," said Fat, with magnificent unconcern, "Le's hup up." The self-possessed son of Mr. Jerndon, local sheriff, received, it grieves me to state, two wallopings for his escapade, one from the ruler-clutching fingers of Miss Hardlot and other later from an authority-upholding sire. But how exquisite he interposed his body, that memorable afternoon, between sacred cage and the spinning rubber sphere! There are Thucydides inadequately reported, and Leonidas not the only her defender of a narrow pass.

\* \* \* \* \*

THE ways of religion—some kinds of religion—are devised indeed. I find it hard to follow them. A late example the presentation of a gold-lettered German Bible to the Brethren by the American Bible Society, bearing the inscription "Saved Through the Grace of God." All this is in harmony with some of the speech-making in the Germans' honor, for numerous indeed have been the declarations of praise to God for having decided to save these particular adventurers. All of which prompts me to wonder why the American Bible Society does not furnish gift Bibles to the memory of Nungesser, Coli, and the host of aviation's transoceanic victims, each to carry, of course, the equal pious words: "Lost Through the Grace of God." The theory of special interposition—for winners—will not down. But it is a theory which, when so thoughtlessly applied, reacts inevitably into its logical contradictions.

The story has often been told of Dr. William Osler how once heard a mother exclaim, sadly, that God had taken away her child. "He did not," said Osler; "it was dirty milk."

Dirty milk, misfortune, defects of machines, stupidity, take me off; and the correct combinations of these elements may carry them through to victory. At any rate, nothing is more calculated to add to the membership of the Society for the Advancement of Atheism than the facile extension of congratulatory backslapping to the Deity. During the War, God was thanked for saving many a soldier, whose return was made possible through his killing of other soldiers among the enemy. All of which naturally brings me around to the observation that among those who yelled for the two Germans and the Irishman were doubtless many who roared maledictions against all "Huns" a decade ago. However, Koehl was a veteran and had brought down his man in aerial combat. And that, somehow, makes everything all right.

That is the way of things in this supremely sane and logical world, and in this stupendous era of erudition.

\* \* \* \* \*

FOR logic, also, it is hard to beat Mrs. Brosseau, generalissimo of the D. A. R., who was recently presented, with due swiftness and servility, at the Court of King George (the Fifth). I will wager a subscription to Freddie Marvin's Daily Dot Sheet to the Key-Hole Men of America that Sir William Hale Thompson, when he heard of this bold *coup d'état*, wept bitterly into his copy of Parson Weems's Life of Washington. ECCENTRICUS.



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